POL 12 CHINAT

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STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW
☐ Retain class'n ☐ Change/classify to _____
☒ Declassify ~~with concurrence of~~ _____
EO 12958, 25X
FPC/HDR by _____ Date: 3/25/96

~~Withdrawal No.~~ _____

0385

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 969000
By nt NARA Date 9/10/03

ORIGIN/ACTION

EA-6

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| RM/R 1 | REP | AF |
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| E | P | IO 5 |
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| AGR | COM | FRB |
| INT | LAB | TAR |
| TR | XMB | AIR 5 |
| ARMY 3 | CIA 20 | NAVY 5 |
| OSD 34 | USIA 10 | NSA 3 |
| | | NSC 6 |

1969 SEP 20 PM 3 43

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

POL 12 CHINAT

FOR RM USE ONLY

A-444 NO.

CONFIDENTIAL

HANDLING INDICATOR

RECEIVED DEPT OF STATE SEP 20 1 07 PM 1969 ANALYSIS BRANCH

TO : Department of State

Action assigned to ROC

INFO: HONG KONG, TOKYO

Action Taken Noted

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

DATE: September 17, 1969

SUBJECT : Five Septuagenarian KMT Officials Retire

Action Office Symbol ROC

REF :

Name of Officer WS

The KMT Central Standing Committee announced on September 12 the retirement of five senior party officials, all over seventy years old. The announcement of their retirement stated that the five had "voluntarily submitted their applications for retirement in response to President Chiang Kai-shek's call for voluntary retirement of public servants over 65 years of age."

The Gimo has issued his call several times during the last few months -- at the KMT Work Conference in June, at a subsequent Central Advisory Committee meeting, and at a later Sun Yat Sen Memorial meeting. In an effort to stimulate retirement, KMT Central Headquarters accordingly sent official notices to several elderly party workers who held what are termed "political appointments" in various KMT bodies. The five retirements announced on September 12 were: Ma Chao-chun, 82, Chairman of the Central Disciplinary Committee; Tung Yen-ping, 73, Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Policy Planning Committee; Li Pu-sheng, 72, Deputy Chief of the KMT Central Committee, Third Section; Pao Te-cheng, 72, member of the Central Planning and Evaluation Committee; Wang Tse-hsien, 73, member of the Central Disciplinary Committee.

Standing Committee member Kuo Chi told the reporting officer

CONFIDENTIAL

FORM DS-323 4-62

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Drafted by: POL:CTSylvester/rl 9/16/69

Contents and Classification Approved by: POL:LJMoser

Clearances:

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DECLASSIFIED Authority NND 969000 By NT NARA Date 9/10/03

recently that part of the impetus for the President's call had come from I Ching-chiu, a close supporter of Chiang Ching-kuo who heads the KMT's personnel section, the Cadre Control Board. Kuo implied that some jobs might be thus opened for CCK supporters. However, there are no signs yet as to who might actually fill these first five vacancies. Kuo himself has sat on several KMT ad hoc committees concerned with personnel policy and commented that one point about which such groups always find themselves in complete disagreement is the age at which voluntary and mandatory retirement should be set. This time the mandatory age had been set at seventy but Kuo thought that many older officials could still find a way to evade this limit.

In a later conversation Ch'ien Fu, Acting Director of North American Affairs in the Foreign Ministry, said that both eighty-year-old Presidential Office Secretary-General Chang Chun and Foreign Finister Wei Tao-ming, who is seventy, had tendered their resignations soon after the Gimo's call was promulgated. Neither resignation was accepted, Ch'ien noted.

The Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Judicial, Examination, and Control Yuans are all over seventy, but it is doubtful that they are about to leave the political scene en masse. If such an age limit was observed in the Legislative Yuan, probably at least a third of the GRC's lawmakers would have to retire. The average age of the Legislators is now over sixty-five.

GP-3

ARMSTRONG



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ORIGIN/ACTION

EA-6

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| NEA | CU | INR 5 |
| E | P 2 | IO |
| L | FBO | AID |
| S/S 10 | S/PM 1 | S/P 1 |
| AGR | COM | FRB |
| INT | LAB | TAR |
| TR | XMB | AIR 5 |
| ARMY 3 | CIA 20 | NAVY 5 |
| OSD 34 | USIA 10 | NSA 3 |
| | | NSC 6 |

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

POL 12 CHINAT
XR POL 15-1 CHINAT
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A-226 NO.

CONFIDENTIAL

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

DATE: May 23, 1969

SUBJECT : KMT Tenth National Party Congress

REF : A-125, March 21, 1969; Taipei 922, 1068, 1098, 1099

SUMMARY

The Kuomintang Tenth National Party Congress which closed April 9 produced few surprises. President Chiang's complete domination of the Party was demonstrated once again. No one else shared the limelight and the President was very active for a man of his advanced age during the twelve day meeting. The Tenth Central Committee elected at the Congress, and the new Standing Committee named by the Gimo, contain some well known and widely respected "technocrats" without much previous Party experience but Taiwanese representation was not significantly expanded nor was the average age of these groups greatly reduced.

GIMO DOMINATES CONGRESS

President Chiang's complete domination of the KMT was demonstrated once again during the Tenth Congress. The Gimo attended morning sessions every day of the twelve day meeting. He delivered four long addresses to the Congress - an opening and a closing speech and two speeches at Sun Yat-sen Memorial

Enclosures: dlm-m.

1. [redacted] KMT 10th National Congress Schedule
2. Roster of the Central Committee and the Central Advisory Committee.

FORM DS-323 4-62

CONIFDENTIAL - GROUP 3

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Drafted by: POL:CTSylvester:jw 5-23-69

Contents and Classification Approved by: [redacted] DCM:OVArmstrong

Clearances:

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By NARA Date 9/10/05

meetings attended by the delegates and observers to the Congress. In addition former messages of the Gimo prepared for other occasions were read to the Congress at several points. One such message was the President's closing speech to the last plenary meeting of the Ninth Central Committee in which the Gimo severely scolded Party leaders for inaction and not carrying out his instructions. This was reread to the Congress by a BCC announcer while the Gimo sat nodding approval.

No one else came close to sharing the limelight with the eighty-two year old President. He apparently personally selected the new Standing Committee, passed on the candidates elected to the Central Committee, and decided on the only important constitutional change — the elimination of the Deputy Director General's position.

QUESTION OF SUCCESSION AVOIDED

Speculation for some time before the Congress had centered on how the KMT would handle the problem of naming a new Deputy Director General. The post has been vacant since the death of former Vice-President Chen Cheng and, if filled, could be of some importance when the Gimo dies.

The issue was sidestepped, however, by amending the Party Constitution to eliminate the position. This decision was apparently made well before the Congress opened. The amendment came up twice for very limited discussion; once, in an evening screening committee session chaired by Chang Chi-yun and a second time during a plenary session of the Congress when the Constitutional revisions were hastily approved

Succession, or what to do when the Gimo dies, is not a subject that people in the KMT like to discuss. One young Central Committee cadre said, "No one dares mention the topic...no preparations have been made for a day which could be tomorrow." A more senior Party official told two Embassy officers that everyone expected the President to live to be at least ninety. An overseas Chinese Central Committeeman from the U.S. told the reporting officer that when the issue came up before the Screening Committee which prepared the revised constitution, Chang Chi-yun intimated that there was no cause for worry--the KMT Standing Committee would jointly act as the Party's top leadership until a special congress could be convened and elect a temporary Director General.



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NINETEEN REPORTS

Most of the delegates seem to have regarded the nineteen reports delivered at the Congress to have been, at best, a necessary evil. One of the few that received much of a reaction was Foreign Minister Wei Tao-ming's report on foreign affairs. Several of the younger overseas Chinese delegates criticized MOFA heavily after Wei was finished for MOFA's lethargy and inactivity of GRC representatives abroad.

RESOLUTION, REVISIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

In addition to seven proposals advanced to the Congress by the Central Committee, 163 resolutions were set forth by Congress delegates, approved by seven Screening Committees, and passed by the Congress. In order to hold the total number of such proposals down, a prospective resolution needed at least fifty signatures before being considered.

Although Secretary General Chang Pao-shu said on April 18 that steering committees would be organized to ensure that the resolutions would be effectively carried out and several other Party leaders have spoken of the need for thorough implementation of the Congress's recommendations, in all probability the proposals will suffer the same fate that similar suggestions arising from Party meetings in the past have met. Resolutions that coincide with government policy will appear to be carried out; others will be forgotten.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE SELECTION

Orchestration of the Congress' selection of the new Central Committee was so successful, one young KMT cadre told the reporting officer, that the Gimo waived his anticipated personal choice of twenty of the ninety-nine committeemen. One new member of the Central Committee, Ni Wen-chun, said that the 350-odd nominees had been divided into five groups ("Let us call them A, B, C, D, and E," he said). Amongst the voting delegates to the Congress were a large proportion made up of delegates from the military, the provincial Party headquarters and the representatives from behind the enemy lines who could be counted on to vote as told. "A" candidates were given all of the "iron" vote. The "A" group included fifteen people whom the Gimo wished to appear for certain in the new Central Committee, Ni said. Among them were Yang Hsi-k'un, Chou Shu-kai, Y.S. Tsiang,



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S. Y. Dao, and K. T. Li. "B", "C", and "D" candidates received progressively lesser numbers of "iron" votes; "E" candidates were accorded none. According to Ni, only one "E" candidate was elected, Shang Kuan Yeh-yu, former Provincial Party Chairman.

CCK received the most votes, 656; the lowest man on the list, Ni Wen-chun, got 175.

Many Central Committee candidates campaigned long and hard for their seats. Liang Yung-chang, Deputy Chairman of the KMT First Section, mentioned that this was the fourth time that he had been nominated but the first time he had actively campaigned, and, the first time he had won a seat. Campaigning apparently consisted of wining and dining fellow delegates and passing out large numbers of calling cards while buttonholing fellow delegates.

SEVEN TAIWANESE, THIRTY-ONE CCK-MEN, NINE TECHNOCRATS

The Central Committee only meets once a year. It is important only because the Central Standing Committee is drawn from its membership and because selection to the Central Committee is considered to be a mark of considerable recognition and prestige. Thus the list of committeemen is always carefully scrutinized as an indication of the Gimo's and top Party leader's thinking.

This time, the list contains more Taiwanese, more CCK-men, more technocrats, more newspapermen, fewer military leaders, fewer legislators, and fewer supporters of former Vice-President Chen Cheng.

There are now seven Taiwanese on the Tenth Central Committee; there were four on the Ninth. Deleted were Huang Chao-ch'in, now 70 years old and concentrating mainly on his business interests, and Lien Chen-tung, a former Minister of Interior. Added were two wealthy businessmen relatively uninterested in politics, Ku Chen-fu and Lin Ting-sheng, the present Minister of Interior, Hsu Ch'ing-chung, Provincial Civil Affairs Commissioner Weng Chien and Central Committee Chief Secretary Lai Hsun-sheng. Lai and Weng are both Hakkas.

Some of CCK's more active lieutenants received more votes and moved higher up the list of Central Committeemen. Some appeared on it for the first time. It is difficult to specify exactly how many members of the Central Committee now are close to the Defense Minister



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since definition of just who his supporters are is not that clear. There is no rival clique any more. But, generally, it looks as if about one third of the 10th Central Committee is made up of people associated with CCK.

The new Central Committee also contains a number of high ranking officials without much Party experience. This provides a useful pool of talent to update the Standing Committee.

STANDING COMMITTEE HAS SIX NEW FACES

Immediately after the Congress ended, a brief two-hour plenum of the new Central Committee was held during which the Gimo's choices for the Standing Committee were read by Secretary-General Chang Pao-shu and approved by general acclamation.

Standing Committee membership was enlarged from eighteen to twenty-one (the largest it has ever been). Three former members were dropped--the Gimo's personal Chief of Staff, Admiral Ni Yue-si, ex-Minister of Interior Lien Chen-tung, and long time Party ideologue Tao Hsi-sheng. Only Tao could be considered to have left the Committee under any kind of cloud. Standing Committee seats are given high ranking military officers such as Admiral Ni when they hold certain top positions Presumably Admiral Ni was removed to make room for General Kao Kuei-yuan, Chief of the General Staff. Lien Chen-tung was probably removed to make a place for Lin Ting-sheng's installation as one of the two Taiwanese on the Standing Committee. Lien is a former associate of Vice-President Chen Cheng who has not been very busy since leaving the Ministry of Interior three years ago. Tao Hsi-sheng, on the other hand, seems to have earned the President's disapproval through a succession of injudicious remarks during the last couple of years.

The six new Standing Committee members are Minister of Education, Yen Chen-hsing; Minister of Economic Affairs, Li Kuo-ting; Minister of Communications, Sun Yun-hsuan, Executive Yuan Secretary-General, Y. S Tsiang; Chief of General Staff, Kao Kuei-yuan and Taiwanese businessman, Lin Ting-sheng. The six new members bring to the Standing Committee active responsibility for governmental policy--something that has been lacking in the Party's highest body for some years. Li, Sun and Tsiang have only been peripherally involved in Party work in the past. Lin was made KMT Taipei Municipal Chairman last year but previously had little contact with the KMT.



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Apparently the President changed his mind at least once before the new list was announced. Standing Committee member Kuo Chi told the reporting officer that on the night before the Central Committee plenum he had seen a list of nineteen candidates approved by the Gimo. This list dropped Tao Hsi-sheng and Lien Chen-tung from the Committee and added Finance Minister Yu Kuo-hua, Y. S. Tsiang and Kao Kuei-yuan. Later, Kuo said, the President decided that there should be two Taiwanese in the group and removed Admiral Ni to make room for Lin Ting-sheng. He also deleted Yu and added K. T. Li and Yen Chen-hsing for a total of 21 members.

The six new members have apparently been relatively quiet at Standing Committee meetings since the Congress. This is normal for "new boys" on the Standing Committee and several more months may pass before any movement is discernible.

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THE KMT 10TH NATIONAL CONGRESS SCHEDULE

March 29 The Congress opened at 11:00 a.m. at Chungshan Hall, Yangmingshan. Director General Chiang Kai-shek personally presided over the opening meeting.

A preparatory meeting held at 3:00 p.m. approved a 25-member Presidium nominated by Chiang, as well as the appointments of Chang Pao-shu as Secretary General and Ch'in Hsiao-i, Hsieh Jan-chih and Hsueh Jen-yang as Deputy Secretary Generals of the Congress. It also passed the Procedural Rules and Schedule of the Congress.

The first plenary meeting was held shortly after the Preparatory meeting with Yen Chia-kan (Vice President and Premier) in the chair. KMT Central Committee Secretary Chang Pao-shu delivered a report on KMT Party affairs.

March 30 The second plenary meeting was held in the morning with Ku Cheng-kang in the chair. Premier Yen Chia-kan delivered his administrative report.

The third plenary meeting was held in the afternoon with General Chih-jou in the chair. General Kao Kuei-yuan and Foreign Minister Wei Tao-ming made reports on military and foreign affairs.

March 31 Director General Chiang personally presided over a Memorial Service Meeting for Dr. Sun Yat-sen at 9:00 a.m. and delivered a 110 minute speech.

The fourth plenary meeting was held at 11:00 a.m. with Huang Shao-ku in the chair. The Presidium suggested a 69-man committee to draft the manifesto. Hsu Ch'ing-lan then made a report on Chinese Communist affairs.

The fifth plenary meeting was held in the afternoon with Chang Chi-yun (Member of the Central Standing Committee), and Lin Yang-kang (Magistrate of Nantou Hsien) in the chair. Yeh Hsiang-chih, Chief of the 2nd Section of the KMT, made a report on KMT operations behind the enemy lines. He was followed by Chang Hsing-hsien, Chiang Mei, Hsu Chih-te, and Ma Jui-lu, all delegates from areas behind the enemy lines.



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April 1 The sixth plenary meeting was held in the morning with Yuan Shou-ch'ien (Central Standing Committee) and Cha Ch'i Szu Ch'ing (Mongol) in the chair. President of the Legislative Yuan Huang Kuo-shu and President of the Judicial Yuan Hsieh Kuan-sheng made their respective reports.

The seventh plenary meeting was held in the afternoon with Cheng Yen-fen (Deputy Secretary General of the Presidential Office) and Ni Wen-chun (delegate from the US) in the chair. Ma Shu-li, Chief of the 3rd Section, KMT Central, made a report on KMT activities in overseas areas.

April 2 The eighth plenary meeting was held in the morning with Huang Chieh (Governor of Taiwan) and Cheng Chen-hua (Professor of Physics in Chinghua University) in the chair. Yang Liang-kung (Vice President of the Examination Yuan) and Li Sz'u-ts'ung (President of the Control Yuan) gave reports on the work of their Yuans.

The ninth plenary meeting was held in the afternoon with Hsieh Tung-min (Speaker of TPA) and Huang I-yun (Delegate from Hong Kong and President of Kuang Ta College in Hong Kong) in the chair. Ch'en Chien-chung and local party cadres made reports on KMT local activities and operations of KMT special headquarters.

April 3 The tenth plenary meeting was held in the morning with Lien Chen-tung (Member of NSC) and Li Chung-kuei (professor of Law) in the chair. Chang Yen-yua, Secretary-General of the KMT Overseas Operations Committee, reported on the struggle against Peiping in overseas areas.

The eleventh plenary meeting held in the afternoon with Ma Jui-lu (delegate from behind the enemy lines) and Hsu Chih-wei (Chinese student in Germany) in the chair. The meeting heard reports on psychological warfare against Peiping by the 6th Section, Warfare Department of MND, and on resettlement of retired servicemen by Chao Chu-yu, Director of VACRS.

April 4 The twelfth plenary meeting was held in the morning with Kuo Ch'eng (Secretary General of the National Assembly) in the chair. The meeting deliberated the proposal for revising the Party constitution. Chang Ch'i-yun represented the First Screening Panel in



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explaining the proposal and the recommendation of the Panel. The meeting approved the revisions as recommended.

The thirteenth plenary meeting was held in the afternoon with Huang Jen-chun (from the US) and Ah Po Tu La (Sinkiang) in the chair. Chan Ch'un-chien, Chief of the Fifth Section, KMT Central, made a report on youth activities. Later, Minister of Education Yen Cheng-hsing made a report on the 9-year education system. Minister of National Defense made a report on his latest visit to the United States.

April 5 The fourteenth plenary meeting was held in the afternoon with General Chou Chih-jou (NSC Member) in the chair to discuss party platform.

The sixteenth plenary meeting was held in the morning to deliberate the proposal of party reconstruction. The meeting was presided over by Ch'ien Chien-ch'iu, Chief of Women's Activities Section, KMT

April 6 No meetings.

April 7 Director-General Chiang Kai-shek personally presided over the second Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Service Meeting. He spoke for two hours on Chinese Communist affairs and international situation. The 16th plenary meeting followed and discussed the program of equalization of land ownership.

April 7 The 17th Plenary meeting was a secret session to discuss proposals for the promotion of the return to the Mainland. The meeting was presided over by Li Chih-min, leader of delegates from the Philippines.

April 8 The eighteenth plenary meeting, held in the morning, was presided over by Yen Chia-kan. The meeting unanimously reelected Chiang Kai-shek Director-General of the Party.

The meeting also approved the 153 members of the Central Consultative Committee nominated by the Director-General and also an 11-man presidium (also nominated by Chiang).

The nineteenth plenary meeting was held in the afternoon with Ku Cheng-kang in the chair to elect a new Central Committee.



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April 9 The twentieth plenary meeting was first presided over by Director General Chiang. Chang Pao-shu reported on the result of the election of the 10th Central Committee. After a ten-minute rest, Pi I-shu was in the chair and the meeting discussed the proposal for political reform, and comments of the Congress on the reports of the five Yuans. It also discussed 31 other proposals.

The twenty-first plenary meeting was held in the afternoon with Chang Ch'i-yun in the chair. The meeting approved the manifesto of the Congress and messages to the people on the mainland, KMT agents operating behind the "enemy lines," overseas Chinese and the armed forces.

The twenty-second plenary meeting was held immediately following the previous meeting and Director General Chiang personally addressed the closing meeting. The National Congress officially came to an end at 7:00 p.m. A banquet immediately followed.

April 10 The 10th Central Committee and the Central Consultative Committee held their first joint session and approved the 21-man Central Standing Committee nominated by the Director General.



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1 5/23/69 Taipei A-226 Encl 2

**ROSTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE TENTH KUOMINTANG NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS (29 Mar.-10 Apr. '69)**

KJ/R

Director-General : CHIANG Kai-shek

Central Standing Committee (First Plenum)

CHANG Ch'i-yun (1728/0366/2498)
CH'EN Ta-ch'ing (7115/1129/1987)
CHENG Yen-feng (6774/1750/2780)
CHIANG Ching-kuo (5592/4842/0948)
CHIANG Yen-shih (5592/1750/1102)
CHOU Chih-jou (0719/5267/2677)
HSIEH Tung-min (6200/2639/7036)
HU Chien-chung (5170/0256/0022)
HUANG Chieh (7806/2638)
HUANG Shao-ku (7806/1421/6253)
KAO K'uei-yuan (7559/7608/0337)
KU Cheng-kang (6253/2973/4854)
KUO Ch'eng (6753/3397)
KUO Chi (6753/7535)
LI Kuo-ting (2621/0948/7844)
LIN T'ing-sheng (2651/2185/3932)
NI Wen-ya (0242/2429/0068)
SUN Yun-hsuan (1327/6663/3894)
YEN Chia-kan (0917/1367/3227)
YEN Chen-hsing (7051/2182/5281)
YUAN Shou-ch'ien (5913/1343/6197)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Members

**A Pu-tu-la (7093/0008/6757/2139)
* CH'A Liang-chien (2686/5328/7002)
CHAN Ch'un-chien (6124/4783/7002)
CHANG Ch'i-yun (1728/0366/2498)
CHANG Hsi-wen (1728/1585/2429) (F)
CHANG Pao-shu (1728/1405/2885)
CHAO Chu-yu (6392/5112/6877)
* CHAO Tzu-ch'i (6392/5261/7871)
CH'EN Chien-chung (7115/1696/0022)
CH'EN Ta-ch'ing (7115/1129/1987)
CH'EN Ta-yuan (7115/6671/0337)
* CH'EN Yu-ch'ing (7115/5940/3237)
CHENG Yen-feng (6774/1750/2780)
CHIANG Ching-kuo (5592/4842/0948)
CHIANG Kuo-tung (3068/0948/2767)
* CHIANG Yen-shih (5592/1750/1102)

THIS LIST SUPERSEDES THE PREVIOUS LIST



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CH'IEN Chien-ch'iu (6929/0494/4428) (F)
CH'IN Hsiao-i (4440/1321/0308)
CHOU Chih-jou (0719/5267/2677)
* CHOU Chung-feng (0719/0022/1496)
CHOU Hung-t'ao (0719/1347/3447)
* CHOU Shu-k'ai (0719/2579/2818)
**CH'U Shao-hua (4234/4801/5478)
CH'U Sung-ch'iu (2806/1516/4428)
* FENG Ch'i-ts'ung (7458/0796/5115)
**FU Yun (0265/7189)
HSIEH Jan-chih (6200/3544/0037)
HSIEH Tung-min (6200/2639/7036)
HSU Ch'ing-lan (1776/2532/1526)
HSU Ch'ing-chung (1776/1987/6988)
HSU Nai (1776/7845)
HSU Su-yu (6079/4790/3768) (F)
HSUEH Jen-yang (5641/0086/0111)
HU Chien-chung (5170/0256/0022)
HU Lien (5170/8834)
* HU Mu-lan (5170/2606/5695) (F)
HUANG Chieh (7806/2638)
HUANG Shao-hu (7806/1421/6253)
* I Chin-ch'iu (2496/0513/4428)
KAO Hsin (7559/0207)
KAO K'uei-yuan (7559/7608/0337)
K'O Shu-pao (2688/0647/1405)
**KU Chen-fu (6581/2182/3940)
KU Cheng-kang (6253/2973/4854)
KU Feng-hsiang (6253/7685/5046)
KUO Ch'eng (6753/3397)
KUO Chi (6753/7535)
LAI Ming-t'ang (6351/0682/3282)
* LAI Shun-sheng (6351/7311/3932)
**LI Chih-min (2621/3112/3046)
* LI Chung-kuei (2621/6945/2710) F
LI Huan (2621/3562)
**LI Kuo-ting (2621/0948/7844)
* LI Pai-hung (2621/4101/5725)
* LI Shih-fen (7812/0013/5358)
* LIANG Yung-chang (2733/3057/4545)
**LIN T'ing-sheng (2651/2185/3932)
**LIU Chi-hung (0491/1323/3163)
* LIU Kuang-k'ai (0491/1684/0418)
* LIU Yu-chang (0491/3768/4545)
LO Heng (5012/5899) (F)
* LO Yu-lun (5012/0645/0243)
* LO Yun-p'ing (5012/7189/1627)
LU Chin-hua (0712/6930/5363) F



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LU Han-po(7120/1383/3134)(F)
MA Chi-chuang(7456/4764/1104)
MA Shu-li(7456/2885/4409)
**MAO Sung-nien(3029/2646/1628)
* NI Wen-chiung(0242/2429/3117)
NI Wen-ya(0242/2429/0068)
NI Yu-hsi(7812/3768/3886)
* P'AN Chen-ch'iu(3382/2182/3808)
P'ENG Meng-ch'i(1756/1322/4874)
P'I I-shu(4122/0110/2579)(F)
SHANG-KUAN Yeh-yu(0006/1351/2814/0147)
SHEN Ch'ang-huan(3088/2490/3562)
* SHEN Chien-hung(3088/0494/5725)
**SHEN Chih-yueh(3088/0037/1471)
**SUN Yun-hsuan(1327/6663/3894)
* T'ANG Chen-ch'u(0781/2182/2806)
* T'ANG Chun-po(0781/0689/6896)
T'ANG Tsung(0781/4912)
* T'AO Sheng-yang(7118/5116/3152)
TENG Ch'uan-k'ai(6772/0278/2818)
TS'AO Sheng-fen(2580/5110/5358)
**WANG Jen-yuan(3769/0117/6678)
**WANG Min(3769/3046)
WANG Sheng(3769/2573)
* WANG T'i-wu(3769/1912/0710)
**WANG Ch'ien(5040/6870)
* YANG Hsi-k'un(2799/6007/1507)
**YANG Pao-lin(2799/1405/3829) F
* YEH Hsia-chai(5509/7209/5049) F
YEH Hsiang-chih(5509/5046/0037)
YEN Chen-hsing(7051/2182/5281)
YEN Chia-kan(0917/1367/3227)
* YU Chi-chung(0151/4764/1813)
**YU Kuo-hua(0205/0948/5478)
YUAN Shou-ch'ien(5913/1343/6197)

* Elected for the first time
** Alternate member in the 9th Central Committee



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TAIPEI

**Alternate Members**

CHA Ch'i-szu-ch'in(2610/1142/2448/2953)

CHANG Kuo-chiang(1728/0948/3984)

CHANG Kuo-ying(1728/0948/5391)

CHANG Hsi-che(1728/1585/0772)

CHANG Tao-min(1728/1418/3046)

CHANG Yen-yuan(1728/3508/0337)

CHAO Hsiao-mei(6392/4607/2734)(F)

CH'EN Mien-hsiu(7115/0517/0208)

CH EN Shui-feng(7115/3055/6646)

CHIAO Chin-t'ang(3542/6855/1016)

CHIANG Lien-ju(5592/1670/0320)

CH'ING Pa -t'u(3237/1572/0956)

CHOU Hsiang(0719/4382)

CHOU Hsuan-kuan(0719/2467/0385)

CHOU Mu-wen(0719/1970/2429)

CHOU Pai-lien(0719/4102/6937)

CHOU T'ien-hsiang(0719/1131/5046)

CHUNG Chiao-kuang(6945/4109/0342)

FENG Ching-fu(6785/2529/4395)

HO Ch'ing-hua(0149/1987/5478)(F)

HO I-wu(0149/1355/2976)

HO Tsung-yen(0149/4912/3508)

HSIA Kung-ch'uan(1115/0501/2938)

HU Hsin-nan(5170/2450/0589)

LI Ho(2621/5440)

LI T'ien-shan(2621/1131/1472)

LIANG Tzu-heng(2733/1311/5899)

LIN Chin-sheng(2651/6855/3932)

LIEN Chan(6647/2069)

LIU Hsien-yun(0491/0341/7189)

LO Ts'ai-jung(5012/2088/2837)

LU Ching-shih(7120/0079/1102)

P'AN Tse-yun(3382/3419/4596)

SHIH Lien-fang(1597/6647/5302)

SUN Chih-p'ing(1327/3112/1627)

SUN I-hsuan(1327/5030/1357)

SUN Kuei-chi(1327/2710/4694)

TA Mu-lin-wang-ch'u-k'o (6671/4476/2651/2489/2806/0344)

TAI Chung-yu(2071/0112/3768)

TS'AI Hung-wen(5591/7703/2429)

TSANG Yuan-chun(5258/0337/7486)

TU Yuan-tsai(2629/0337/6528)

TUNG Shih-fang(5516/0013/5364)

WANG Kuo-hsiu(3769/0948/4423)

WANG Shu-lin(3769/3412/7207)

WANG To-nien(3769/1122/1628)

WANG Ya-ch'uan(3769/0068/2938)(F)

WU Hsiang-lan(0702/7449/5695)(F)

YU Chung-chi(0151/6945/7535)

YUAN Chin-hsien(5913/6027/6343)



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## Central Advisory Committee

### Presidum

CHANG Chih-pen(1728/4249/2609)

CHANG Ch'un(1728/5028)

CH'EN Li-fu(7115/4539/1133)

CHIANG SUNG Mei-ling(5592/1345/5019/7881)

HO Ying-ch'in(0149/2019/2953)

HSIEH Kuan-sheng(6200/0385/3932)

HSUEH Yueh(5641/1471)

HUANG Kuo-shu(7806/0948/2579)

LI Szu-ts'ung(2621/0843/3867)

LI Yu-ying(2621/3558/3467)

SUN Fo(1327/4430)

### Members

CHANG Chih-pen(1728/4249/2609)

CHANG Ch'ing-en(1728/1987/1869)

CHANG Ch'un(1728/5028)

CHANG Ho-hsiang(1728/0735/4382)

CHANG Li-sheng(1728/0632/3932)

CHANG Pang-chen(1728/6721/3791)

CHANG T'ieh-chun(1728/6993/0689)

CHANG Wei-han(1728/4850/5060)

CH'EN Chao-ch'iung(7115/0340/3890)

CH'EN Chao-ying(7115/5128/5391)

CH'EN Ch'i-ch'uan(7115/0796/1557)

CH'EN Chia-shang(7115/0857/1424)

CH'EN Chih-mai(7115/0037/6701)

CH'EN Chih-ming(7115/1807/2494)

CH'EN Chih-p'ing(7115/6347/1627)

CH'EN Hsiung-fei(7115/7160/7378)

CH'EN Hsueh-p'ing(7115/7185/1456)

CH'EN Kan-heng(7115/3927/0077)

CH'EN Lan-feng(7115/1526/1496)

CH'EN Li-fu(7115/4539/1133)

CH'EN Ta-ch'i(7115/1129/7871)

CH'EN Tzu-feng(7115/4793/2800)

CH'ENG Ts'ang-po(4453/3318/3134)

CHIANG Chien-jen(5592/1017/1804)

CHIANG Fu-ts'ung(5592/1788/3867)

CHIANG Hsueh-chu(3068/1331/3796)

CHIANG Po-chang(1203/0130/1757)

CHIANG SUNG Mei-ling (5592/1345/5019/7881)

CH'IEN Ch'i-ch'en(6929/0366/3819)

CH'IEN Kung-lai(6929/0361/0171)



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CH'IEN Ta-chun(6929/1129/6874)
CH'IEN Yung-ho(6929/3938/0735)
CHIN Wei-hsi(6855/4850/4941)
CHOU Mei-yu(0719/5019/3768)
CHU Fu-sung(2612/2329/2646)
FANG Chih(2455/3112)
FEI Ming-yu(2431/7686/1342)
HANG Li-wu(2635/4539/2976)
HO Chung-han(6320/5907/1383)
HO Wen-chiung(0149/2429/3518)
HO Ying-ch'in(0149/2019/2953)
HSIAO Tsan-yu(5618/6363/5148)
HSIAO Cheng(5618/6927)
HSIAO T'ung-tzu(5618/0681/5417)
HSIAO Yu(5618/3842)
HSIEH Kuan-sheng(6200/0385/3932)
HSIEH Ying-chou(6200/3467/3166)
HSU Hsiao-yen(6079/1321/3508)
HSU Huan-sheng(1776/3562/2573)
HSU K'an(1776/1030)
HSU Pai-yuan(1776/2672/0954)
HSU Shao-ch'ang(6079/4801/2490)
HSUEH Yu-ch'i(5641/3022/7784)
HSUEH Yueh(5641/1471)
HU Kuei(5170/6510)
HUANG Ch'ao-ch'in(7806/2600/3830)
HUANG Chen-ch'iu(7806/6966/3808)
HUANG Chen-hua(7806/2182/5478)
HUANG Chen-wu(7806/3791/0710)
HUANG Chi-lu(7806/1323/7120)
HUANG Hsing-hua(7806/5281/5478)
HUANG Hung-ch'iu(7806/7703/4428)
HUANG Jen-chun(7806/0088/0193)
HUANG Jen-lin(7806/0088/7207)
HUANG Kuo-shu(7806/0948/2579)
HUANG Po-tu(7806/0130/1653)
K'O Chun-chih(2688/0193/2535)
KU Cheng-ting(6253/2973/7844)
KU Chu-t'ung(7357/4376/0681)
KUAN Ch'ung-ying(7070/1504/7336)
KUANG Lu(1684/4389)
KUANG Yao-p'u(6782/3852/2528)
KUO Chi-ch'iao(6753/1376/1540)
LENG Hsin(0397/2946)
LI Chien-ho(2621/1696/0735)
LI Chueh-chih(2621/6030/0037)
LI Mi(2621/1736)
LI P'u-sheng(2621/2883/3932)



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LI Shou-yung(2621/1108/7167)
LI Szu-ts'ung(2621/0843/3867)
LI Yu-ying(2621/3558/3467)
LI Yung-hsin(2621/3057/2450)
LIANG Han-ts'ao(2733/1383/2347)
LIANG Hsu-chao(2733/1645/2507)
LIEN Chen-tung(6647/7201/2639)
LIN Hsi-p'ing(2651/6007/1456)
LIN Shen(2651/1957)
LIU An-ch'i(0491/1344/4388)
LIU Chien-ch'un(0491/0256/5028)
LIU Ch'in(0491/4440)
LIU K'o-shu(2692/0344/6615)
LIU T'ien-lu(0491/1131/4389)
LO Ch'i(5012/1142)
LO Chia-lun(5012/1367/0243)
LO Lieh(5012/0441)
LO Sang I-hsi(5012/2718/4135/6007)
MA Ch'ao-chun(7456/6389/0193)
MA Ch'eng-hsiang(7456/0701/4382)
MA Hsing-yeh(7456/2502/6851)
MA Pu-ch'ing(7456/2975/7230)
MEI Yu-cho(2734/0645/0587)
MIAO P'ei-ch'eng(5379/1014/2052)
PAI Yun-t'i(4101/7189/2748)
PAO Shih-t'ien(7637/0057/1131)
SA Meng-wu(5646/1322/2976)
SHEN Ch'i(3088/6936)
SHEN Hui-lien(3088/1979/5571)
SHEN I(3088/1837)
SHEN Tsung-han(3088/1350/3466)
SHIH Chueh(4258/6030)
SUN Fo(1327/4430)
SUN Lien-chung(1327/6647/0112)
TAI K'uei-sheng(2071/1951/3932)
T'AN Po-yu(6223/0130/5038)
T'AO Hsi-sheng(7118/1585/5110)
T'ENG Chieh(3326/0267)
TENG Ts'ui-ying(6772/5488/5391)
T'IEN Chiung-chin(3944/3518/6930)
TS'AI Kung-nan(5591/0501/0589)
TS'AI P'ei-huo(5591/1014/3499)
TS'ENG Hsu-pai(2582/5711/4101)
TS'UI Tsai-yang(1508/6528/7122)
TUNG Wen-ch'i(5516/2429/3823)
WAN Yao-huang(5502/5069/3552)
WANG Hsing-chou(3769/2502/5297)
WANG Ping-chun(3769/4426/6874)



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WANG Shao-t'ing(3076/1421/1656)

WANG Shih-chieh(3769/0013/2638)

WANG Shu-ming(3769/0647/6900)

WANG T'ieh-han(3769/6993/3352)

WANG Tsung-shan(3769/1350/1472)

WANG Tung-yuan(3769/2639/0626)

WEI Tao-ming(7614/6670/2494)

WU Ching-hsiung(0702/4842/3574)

WU Hung-sen(0702/7703/2773)

YANG Chi-ts'eng(2799/4949/2582)

YANG Chia-yu(2799/1367/3842)

YANG Liang-kung(2799/0081/0501)

YAO Ts'ung-wu(1202/1783/0710)

YEN Kuo-fu(1693/0948/4569)

YOLBUS(1031/2867/0590/1102)

YU Ching-t'ang(0151/0064/1048)

YU Han-mou(0151/3352/6180)



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ORIGIN/ACTION

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| 1 | | |
| ARA | EUR | FE |
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| AGR | COM | FRB |
| INT | LAB | TAR |
| TR | XMB | AIR 5 |
| ARMY 3 | CIA 20 | NAVY 5 |
| OSD 34 | USIA 10 | NSA 3 |
| | | NSC 6 |

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

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HANDLING INDICATORS

Office of Asian Communist Affairs
MAY 7 1969
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TO : Department of State

INFO: HONG KONG, TAIPEI, SEOUL

FROM : Amembassy TOKYO DATE: 2 May 1969

SUBJECT : Foreign Office Paper "Closing of the Communist Chinese Ninth National Congress"

REF :

NOFORN INCLUDING JAPANESE OFFICIALS

Foreign Office China Section Chief Hiroshi HASHIMOTO furnished the reporting officer with the subject document, an Embassy translation of which is enclosed.

The contents of this paper were used as the basis for briefings of the Japanese press at the time of the conclusion of the Ninth Party Congress. The press reflected the judgments contained herein in articles both attributed and unattributed to Foreign Office sources.

The paper is organized as follows:

"Closing of the Communist Chinese Ninth National Congress"

1. Settlement of the Cultural Revolution
2. Combination of MAO Tse-tung Absolutism and All-Roundism
3. Future Internal and External Policies
4. Structure of the Reconstructed Communist Party
5. Personnel Lineup of the Party's Supreme Leadership

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Action Assigned to A/CA

Action Taken

Enclosure:
As Stated

Group 3
Downgraded at 12-year intervals, not automatically declassified.

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Date of Action In Out
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer

FORM DS-323 4-62

Drafted by: POL:HLevin:htk 5-2-69

Contents and Classification Approved by: POL:RAEricson

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Closing of the Communist Chinese 9th National Congress

April 25, 1969
China Affairs Division

Communist China's 9th National Congress, which had been held from April 1, closed on April 24. The significance of the 9th National Congress and an analysis of Communist China's moves internally and externally, at the present time, are as follows:

1. Settlement of the Cultural Revolution

The Communist Chinese Center has been developing the Cultural Revolution for three years, since the second half of 1966. With the holding of the 9th National Congress, it ended the Cultural Revolution, for the time being, on the basis of the new personnel lineup and the new structure, it is aiming at upholding thoroughly the principle of the absoluteness of MAO Tse-tung in its internal and external policies in the future. The Communique, which was announced at the closing of the 9th Congress, highly acclaimed the "victory of the Cultural Revolution." In the personnel lineup of the reconstructed Communist Party and its structure, it has certainly succeeded in eliminating the LIU Shao-chi- and TENG Hsiao-ping Faction, or in other words, the clear-cut anti-Mao faction and its structure. However, it had no choice but to embrace a large number of in-between factions (they were severely criticized in the course of the Cultural Revolution), in the personnel structure. Also, in the field of concrete policies, too, it endeavored to attain a compromise with the reality.

2. Combination of /MAO Tse-tung Absolutism and All-Roundism

The policy line of MAO Tse-tung absolutism, which the MAOxT MAOxMA Maoists, especially the ideologists of the Cultural Revolution such



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as CHIANG Ching, YAO Wen-yuan and CHANG Chun-chiao, and the Red Guards pursued in the early and middle period of the Cultural Revolution, is being upheld in a sense, in the slogans and as an ideal. On the other hand, however, that efforts were made to attain a compromise with the reality which is now facing Communist China is indicated in various aspects of the personnel lineup, structure and policies. It is thought that the Party Center had to extend the session of the 9th National Congress by more than ten days from the initially scheduled length of time, in order to come to such a compromise. Especially, the fact that it took as many as ten days to elect the members and alternate members of the Central Committee shows that it had been unable to narrow down the number of Central Committee members and alternate members. It is considered that its having had to increase the number by more than 100 members at one stroke means that the controlling power of the Communist Chinese Center has been weakened, and that, also at the same time, it fell into the policy of all-roundism, trying to please all sectors and all forces in the personnel selection question.

3. Future Internal and External Policies

In its internal policies, especially in its educational and social policies, it is thought that the MAO Tse-tung absolutist policy will be upheld. In economic policies, too, it will probably try to turn the national spirit, which has been aroused through the Cultural Revolution into efforts for movements for the increase of production. However, it will have to take into consideration the passive resistance of the realistic and conservative technocrats and in-between factions, who were retained through the 9th National Congress. Consequently, it will not be able to take ambitious or adventurous economic policies in reality, and it will have to incorporate



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realistic policies. Also, in regard to the implementation of domestic policies, the 9th National Congress' Communique this time called for "winning over all persons with whom solidarity can be established as one's allies," and "the overcoming of generalization," and by warning against impatience, from rushing it endeavored to hold the radicals within the Party ~~xxxxx~~ ahead alone.

As for its foreign policy, the three main pillars are opposition to American imperialism, rejection of Soviet revisionism and the overthrow of reactionary forces in various nations, as in the past, and at the same time, it calls strongly upon the Chinese people's sense of nationalism, by making a strong appeal for the liberation of Taiwan.

However, as far as ~~xxxx

organs
organ in the 29 provinces throughout the country and the Communist Party, to be reconstructed, will be. Also, it has not yet been clarified what how the structure of the Party at the Communist Chinese Center will be organized and what relations the Party structure at the Center will have with the Central Government (State Council) in the future.

5. Personnel Lineup of the Party's Supreme Leadership

(1) It is surmised that the 14 persons of the highest power, including MAO Tse-tung, LIN Piao and CHOU En-lai, and the ten persons ranking after them will probably form the core of power in Communist China, and that they will form the Politburo. Especially, the first-mentioned 14 persons are thought to form the Standing Committee of the Politburo, and that they will form the supreme leadership of Communist China, centering on MAO and LIN.

(2) Of the total of 279 members of the Party's Central Committee (170 members and 109 alternate members) elected at the 9th National Congress this time, about 40 percent are military men, about 30 percent are former leaders (the high-ranking Party and Government bureaucrats of the past), and about 30 percent are representatives of the general masses. When this is compared with the fact that among the Central Committee members and alternate members who were elected in the preceding 8th National Congress, only just a little over 20 percent were military men, and the large part of the remaining 80 percent were accounted for by high-ranking bureaucrats of the Party and the Government, it is worth noting that military men and representatives of the general masses have made a big advance into the Party's supreme power organ.

Also, of the roughly 170 persons who were elected Central Committee members and alternate members at the 8th National Congress, and remain today, there are only 51 among them who were re-elected to the Central Committee



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as members or alternate members at the latest 9th National Congress, still retaining the political life. The remaining 119 persons have suffered downfalls. This fact shows how severe the purge under the Cultural Revolution was.

Also, of the large part of the 176 persons (140 persons), who sat in the Chairman Group seat at the 9th National Congress, were elected as Central Committee members or alternate members. Also, among the total of 279 new members and alternate members of the Central Committee, 20 of them are women (12 Central Committee members and 8 alternate members). Compared with only 8 members elected at the 8th National Congress, the number has tripled, and the advance of women is conspicuous. It is to be noted that women, who are closely related to persons of the highest power, by family ties, starting with the wives of the three top leaders -- MAO, LIN and CHOU -- have now appeared on the central stage of power in Communist China.



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R 101045Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7328
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1098

SUBJECT: NEW FACES ON KMT STANDING COMMITTEE

1. KMT TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE ELECTED BY PARTY CONGRESS APRIL 8 HELD TWO HOUR PLENARY MEETING APRIL 10. MOST IMPORTANT PIECE OF BUSINESS TRANSACTED WAS APPROVAL OF DIRECTOR GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S NOMINATIONS FOR PRESTIGIOUS CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE.

2. NEW STANDING COMMITTEE HAS SIX NEW FACES: THREE FORMER MEMBERS WERE DROPPED AND MEMBERSHIP INCREASED FROM EIGHTEEN TO TWENTY-ONE. KMT SECRETARY GENERAL CHANG PAO-SHU READ LIST OF GIMO'S CHOICES TO PLENUM AND ASKED IF THERE WERE ANY OBJECTIONS. THERE WERE NONE.

3. STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS TWICE A WEEK TO CONSIDER KMT AND GOVERNMENTAL POLICY MATTERS. PRESIDENT CHIANG GOES TO WEDNESDAY MEETING WHICH ONCE MONTHLY IS COMBINED WITH NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION. THESE ARE ONLY MEETINGS ATTENDED BY GIMO AT WHICH THERE IS DISCUSSION OF WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES CONFRONTING GRC. IN RECENT YEARS FEWER AND FEWER MEMBERS OF STANDING COMMITTEE HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY CONCERNED WITH CARRYING OUT GOVERNMENT POLICY AND THERE HAS BEEN LESS CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION AT MEETINGS.

(1)

4. SIX ADDITIONS COULD CONTRIBUTE MUCH TO REVIVAL

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STANDING COMMITTEE AS IMPORTANT POLICY-MAKING BODY.
NEW MEMBERS ARE MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS LI KUO-TING;
MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS SUN YUN-HSUAN; MINISTER OF
EDUCATION YEN CHEN-HSING; CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF KAO
KUEI-YUANG; SECRETARY GENERAL OF EXECUTIVE YUAN Y. S. TSIANG;
AND TAIWANESE BUSINESS MAGNATE LIN TING-SHENG. LI,
SUN, AND Y. S. TSIANG BRING IMPRESSIVE CREDENTIALS TO GROUP
IN THEIR PAST AND PRESENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO TAIWAN'S
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. EDUCATION MINISTER YEN HAS BEEN
OVEREXTENDED IN MANY CONCURRENT JOBS AND HAS NOT DRAWN
FROM CLOSE OBSERVERS SAME DEGREE OF RESPECT. HOWEVER,
HE HAS ENGINEERING AND SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND AND FITS
IN WITH GIMO'S EMPHASIS ON SCIENCE. KAO IS HIGHLY
REGARDED MILITARY LEADER. LIN WAS NAMED LAST YEAR
BY PARTY TO HEAD TAIPEI CITY KMT ORGANIZATION DESPITE
LACK OF PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN PARTY AFFAIRS. HE HEADS
TA TUNG, LARGE ELECTRICAL APPLIANCE MANUFACTURING CONCERN
AND IS FIRST BUSINESSMAN OF TAIWANESE DESCENT TO SIT ON
STANDING COMMITTEE.

5. THREE FORMER MEMBERS DROPPED WERE KMT THEORETICIAN
T'AO HSI-SHENG, EX-MINISTER OF INTERIOR LIEN CH'EN-TUNG,
AND GIMO'S PERSONAL CHIEF OF STAFF, ADMIRAL NI
YUE-SI. T'AO DREW GIMO'S WRATH YEAR AGO FOLLOWING
WELL-KNOWN INCIDENT OF PEITOU BATHTUB PICTURE WHICH
APPEARED IN TIME MAGAZINE. T'AO POINTED OUT AT
STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING THAT PROSTITUTION WAS
PROBLEM IN MANY COUNTRIES BESIDES TAIWAN AND SAID,
UNWISELY AS IT TURNED OUT, THAT TOO MUCH SHOULD NOT
BE MADE OF AFFAIR. LIEN CH'EN-TUNG IS SON OF FAMOUS
TAIWANESE HISTORIAN. HE GREW UP ON MAINLAND AND WAS
FORMER ASSOCIATE OF LATE VICE PRESIDENT CH'EN CH'ENG.
HIS SPOT AS ONE OF TWO TAIWANESE ON STANDING COMMITTEE
HAS NOW BEEN FILLED BY LIN TING-SHENG. ADMIRAL NI WAS
PRESUMABLY REMOVED TO MAKE ROOM FOR GENERAL KAO.

GP-3. MCCONAUGHY

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RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, RSR 01, /109 W
063527

R 101048Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7329
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1099

SUBJECT: KMT TENTH CONGRESS CLOSES

REF: A. TAIPEI 1085

B. TAIPEI 1098

1. PRESIDENT CHIANG MADE HIS THIRD TWO-HOUR ADDRESS IN LAST TWELVE DAYS IN CLOSING KMT TENTH CONGRESS APRIL 9. GIMO APPARENTLY WAS HIGHLY SATISFIED WITH MEETING: ONE DELEGATE TOLD EMBOFF THAT IN CONTRAST WITH SCOLDING GIMO GAVE CENTRAL COMMITTEEMEN AT 1967 PLENUM, THIS TIME HE WAS PLEASED WITH SPIRIT EVINCED BY YOUNGER PARTY MEMBERS. CLOSING ADDRESS WAS LARGELY DEVOTED TO GENERALITIES ON DOMESTIC TAIWAN SCENE AND EMPHASIZED "SCIENTIFIC REFORM, REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT, AND DEMOCRATIC METHODS...WE SHOULD NOT TRY TO CONCEAL OUR FAULTS OR HESITATE TO TAKE CORRECTIVE ACTIONS," GIMO SAID. AT EVENING BANQUET HE FURTHER CONGRATULATED DELEGATES AND WALKED THROUGH HALL TOASTING INDIVIDUAL TABLES.

2. GIMO TOOK ACTIVE ROLE IN CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS; BESIDES THREE SPEECHES, DURING MORNING MEETINGS HE APPARENTLY COMMENTED FREQUENTLY ON REPORTS GIGUN BY PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS.

3. FEW CONGRESS DELEGATES HEARD FROM SO FAR SEEM ALSO

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TO HAVE BEEN GENERALLY PLEASED WITH MEETING. THIRTY-EIGHT YEAR OLD TAITUNG COUNTY MAGISTRATE WHO WAS PROVINCIAL DELEGATE TOLD EMBOFFS THAT YOUNGER PEOPLE ATTENDING CONGRESS HAD HAD OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK THEIR PIECE AND FELT TRENDS SHOWN AT MEETING WERE IN RIGHT DIRECTION. "NEXT CONGRESS WILL BE OURS," HE SAID.

4. RESOLUTIONS, REPORTS, AND REVISIONS RESULTING FROM MEETING PRODUCED NO SURPRISES AND LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE. MAIN PURPOSE OF CONGRESS, AS WAS FREELY PREDICTED BEFORE IT STARTED, APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN TO SERVE AS PEP TALK FOR PARTY.

5. REFTELS COMMENT ON TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE SELECTED BY CONGRESS AND NEW STANDING COMMITTEE.

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7325
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1085

SUBJECT: NEW KMT CENTRAL COMMITTEE ELECTED

1. KMT TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE ELECTED BY PARTY CONGRESS APRIL 8 HAS FORTY-FOUR NEW MEMBERS INCLUDING NUMBER OF CLOSE ASSOCIATES OF CCK AND SOME HIGH-LEVEL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WITHOUT NOTABLE PREVIOUS PARTY EXPERIENCE. ALL SEVEN CABINET MINISTERS ARE NOW ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE EXCEPT FOREIGN MINISTER WEI TAO-MING WHO WAS RENOMINATED TO CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. FOUR MINISTERS NEWLY NAMED TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARE LI KUO-TING, ECONOMIC AFFAIRS; SUN YUN-HSUAN, COMMUNICATIONS; CHA LIANG-CHIEN, JUSTICE; HSU CH'ING-CHUNG, INTERIOR. FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPECIALISTS NAMED TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR FIRST TIME INCLUDE VICE MINISTERS YANG HSI-K'UN AND SHEN CHIEN-HUNG AND AMBASSADOR TO US CHOW SHU-KAI. WITH ADDITION OF KMT CADRE CONTROL CHAIRMAN I CHING-CH'IU, CHOU CHUNG-FENG, DIRECTOR OF NSB, AND PAN CHEN-CH'IU, PROVINCIAL EDUCATION COMMISSIONER, MAJORITY OF CCK'S MOST TRUSTED SUPPORTERS ARE NOW ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

2. OF NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEEMEN, SEVEN OUT OF NINETY-NINE ARE OF TAIWANESE ORIGIN COMPARED WITH FOUR OUT OF SEVENTY-FOUR IN PREVIOUS GROUP. FIVE OUT OF PRESENT SEVEN TAIWANESE HAVE LONG BEEN ACTIVE IN PARTY; OTHER TWO ARE BUSINESS MAGNATES, LIN T'ING-SHENG OF TA TUNG ELECTRIC, AND KU CH'EN-FU, CHAIRMAN OF TAIWAN CEMENT CORPORATION.

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3. MISSING FROM LIST ARE NAMES OF NINETEEN FORMER MEMBERS INCLUDING STANDING COMMITTEEMEN T'AO HSI-SHENG AND LIEN CH'EN-TUNG WHO WERE BOTH SHIFTED TO CENTRAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. TAO AND LIEN WILL THUS NOT BE ELIGIBLE FOR REELECTION TOMORROW TO PRESTIGIOUS STANDING COMMITTEE. MOST OF THOSE REMOVED FORMERLY HELD IMPORTANT JOBS WHICH JUSTIFIED SELECTION TO PREVIOUS CENTRAL COMMITTEE. OTHERS SUCH AS CH'EN MIEN-HSIU, CHEN CHENG'S BROTHER, WERE CLOSE SUPPORTERS OF THE LATE VICE PRESIDENT WHO HAVE NEVER BECOME FOLLOWERS OF CCK.

4. AVERAGE AGE OF NEW MEMBERS IS FIFTY-FIVE; OF THOSE REMOVED, SIXTY-THREE.

5. NEW MEMBERS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE INCLUDE SOME OF BEST TALENT IN GRC AND COULD PROVIDE AN EXCELLENT POOL FROM WHICH TO PICK A STANDING COMMITTEE MORE ABLE THAN PRESENT GROUP TO HANDLE INCREASING COMPLEX PROBLEMS FACING TAIWAN.

6. PRESIDIUM OF CENTRAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ANNOUNCED APRIL 9 TURNED OUT TO BE GROUP OF GRC'S MORE PRESTIGIOUS BUT LESS ACTIVE SENIOR LEADERS. FOUR OF FIVE YUAN PRESIDENTS, MADAME CHIANG, CHANG CHUN, AND CHEN LI-FU ARE AMONG ELEVEN MEMBERS OF NEW GROUP. AVERAGE AGE IS SEVENTY-FIVE.

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7315
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1068

REF: A. TAIPEI 922
B. TAIPEI A-125, MARCH 21, 1969

SUBJECT: KMT TENTH CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

1. PRESIDENT CHIANG, AS EXPECTED, WAS REELECTED UNANIMOUSLY AS DIRECTOR GENERAL OF KMT IN TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS MEETING APRIL 8.

2. CONGRESS WILL MEET AFTERNOON APRIL 8 TO ELECT NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHICH, ACCORDING TO CNA RELEASE, WILL HAVE 99 MEMBERS, 25 MORE THAN NINTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

3. TENTH CONGRESS WILL ADJOURN ON APRIL 9 TO BE FOLLOWED NEXT DAY BY BRIEF PLENUM OF NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHICH WILL VOTE ON CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

(1) 4. ON APRIL 7 GIMO MADE TWO-HOUR ADDRESS TO CONGRESS DELEGATES ON MAINLAND EVENTS AND CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. ACCORDING TO CNA SUMMARY, HE TOLD CONGRESS DELEGATES THAT NINTH CHICOM CONGRESS IN PEKING IS "BEGINNING OF SECOND ROUND POWER STRUGGLE WHICH WILL LEAD TO FULL-FLEDGED CIVIL WAR." PRESIDENT CHIANG SAID THAT "MAO TSE-TUNG IS ATTEMPTING TO ESTABLISH A MAOIST PARTY AFTER DESTROYING DISINTEGRATING CHINESE COMMUNIST

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PARTY." HE ALSO SAID"...THE CENTER OF GRAVITY OF THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS LIES IN CHINA, AND THE CENTER OF THE CHINA PROBLEM LIES IN TAIWAN, PENGHY, AND THE OFFSHORE ISLAND OF KINMEN AND MATSU ON SHICH THE FATE OF MANKIND HINGES."

5. IN OTHER CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS POSITION OF THE KMT DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL, ONCE HELD BY LATE VICE PRESIDENT CH'EN CH'ENG, WAS ABOLISHED APRIL 5 IN REVISION OF PARTY CHARTER. THIS LEAVES UNANSWERED THE QUESTION OF WHO WOULD SUCCEED TO PARTY LEADERSHIP UNDER THE CHARTER IN CASE OF DEMISE OF DIRECTOR GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

6. DECISION UNDOUBTEDLY PROMPTED BY DESIRE AVOID DILEMMA OF EITHER FORMALIZING CHIANG CHING-KUO'S STATUS AS HEIR APPARENT OR APPOINTING SOMEONE ELSE TO SO KEY A POSITION. MOST OBSERVERS HERE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT CCK NOW HAS ADEQUATE HOLD OF KMT STRUCTURE TO TAKE OVER PARTY LEADERSHIP UON HIS FATHER'S DEATH WITHOUT ANY PRESENT OFFICIAL DESIGNATION AS HEI APPARENT. ACCORDING TO CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF CCK, BOTH CCK AND VICE PRESIDENT YEN WERE DIPLOMATICALLY ABSENT FROM HALL DURING DEBATE ON CHARTER REVISION.

7 NEW ORGAN WAS CREATED DURING CHARTER REVISION: PRESIDIUM OF CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE"...TO ASSIST THE DIRECTOR GENERAL IN HANDLING COUNCIL MEMBERS' PROPOSALS ABOUT PARTY AFFAIRS AND IN EXAMINING DISCIPLINARY CASES..." THIS SHOULD BE CONVENIENT SHELF ON WHICH TO PLACE AGING PARTY STALWARTS. ITS CREATION IMPROVES ODDS THAT SOME OLDTIMERS MAY BE REMOVED FROM PRESTIGIOUS CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE.

8. SOURCE MENTIONED PARA 6 ALSO SAID THAT CCK, IN REPORT ON HIS TRIP TO US FOR EISENHOWER FUNERAL, TOLD DELEGATES THAT HE HAD TALKED BRIEFLY WITH PRESIDENT NIXON, SECRETARY LAIRD AND SECRETARY ROGERS. CCK DID NOT DISCLOSE NATURE OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH US LEADERS BEYOND SAYING THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAD TOLD HIM THAT "PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S VIEWS WOULD BE RESPECTED."

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INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 0922

SUBJECT: KMT TENTH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS OPENS

REF: TAIPEI A-125, MARCH 21, 1969

1. PRESIDENT CHIANG, IN HIS CAPACITY AS KMT DIRECTOR GENERAL, OPENED TENTH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS MARCH 29 WITH SPEECH CALLING FOR "SCIENTIFIC REFORM" OF PARTY. "ALL THE SETBACKS WE HAVE SUFFERED IN OUR NATIONAL REVOLUTION DURING THE PAST ARE CAUSED BY OUR NEGLIGENCE OF SCIENTIFIC METHODS AND PRINCIPLES," SAID THE EIGHTY-TWO YEAR OLD KMT DIRECTOR GENERAL IN TWENTY-FIVE MINUTE ADDRESS.

2. GIMO'S SPEECH WAS REMINISCENT OF HIS EMPHASIS ON REFORM AND SCIENCE IN HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO KMT CENTRAL COMMITTEEMEN AT LAST IMTORTANT PARTY MEETING IN NOVEMBER 1967. HE ONCE AGAIN TOLD PARTY MEMBERS THAT PRIME TASK OF KMT WAS TO BUILD UP TAIWAN AS MODEL PROVINCE EXEMPLIFYING SUN YAT-SEN'S THREE PEOPLE PRINCIPLES. GIMO TALKED ABOUT MAINLAND RECOVERY BUT NOT IN CONTEXT OF MILITARY COUNTERATTACK.

3. EARLIER, GIMO ATTENDED YOUTH DAY OPENING OF NEW MARTYRS' SHRINE. HIS ANNUAL YOUTH DAY MESSAGE, WHICH WAS READ TO CUSTOMARY MASS RALLY, APPEALED TO YOUTH TO BE "WARRIORS IN ANTI-MAO NATIONALSALVATION UNITED FRONT AND ENGINEERS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW CHINA."

4. EMPHASIS ON YOUTH WAS ALSO THEME OF LONG REPORT TO

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CONGRESS ON KMT ADMINISTRATION AND OPERATIONS BY PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL CHANG PAO-SHU. SUBSEQUENT FORMAL REPORTS BY VICE PRESIDENT C.K. YEN, FOREIGN MINISTER WEI TAO-MING, AND CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF KAO KUEI-YUAN CONTAINED NO SURPRISES. ONLY MOMENT OF INTEREST CAME WHEN LADY KMT DELEGATE FROM HONOLULU STOOD UP AFTER FOREIGN MINISTER'S REPORT AND CASTIGATED GRC FORFIGN SERVICE OFFICERS STATIONED IN HAWAII AS LACKLUSTRE, OVERCAUTIOUS, AND UNFRIENDLY TO OVERSEAS CHINESE. HER REMARKS DREW LOUD APPLAUSE FROM OTHER DELEGATES.

5. TWENTY-FIVE MEMBER PRESIDIUM NOMINATED BY GIMO AND APPROVED BY CONGRESS MARCH 29 CONTAINS SOME NEW, YOUNGER FACES INCLUDING LIN YANG-KANG, TAIWANESE MAGISTRATE OF NANTOU COUNTY AND SOME OVERSEAS CHINESE SCHOLARS. AMONG OLDER PARTY STALWARTS WHO SERVED ON NINTH CONGRESS PRESIDIUM BUT ARE MISSING THIS TIME ARE FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL KU FENG-HSIANG, AND CENTRAL DAILY NEWS CHAIRMAN TAO HSI-SHENG. THEY, AND SEVERAL OTHER OLDTIMERS, MAY BE NAMED TO NEW PRESIDIUM OF CENTRAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, A GRACEFUL EXIT FROM ACTIVE PARTY LIFE THAT IS EXPECTED TO BE ADDED TO KMT STRUCTURE DURING CONGRESS.

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| TR | XMB | AIR 5 |
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

POL 12 CHINAT

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A-125 NO.

CONFIDENTIAL

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : HONG KONG, TOKYO, MOSCOW

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

DATE: March 21, 1969

SUBJECT : KMT 10th National Party Congress; KMT Problems

REF :

SUMMARY

Over one thousand ranking Kuomintang officials will gather on Youth Day, March 29, for their party's Tenth National Congress. The KMT faces certain basic dilemmas: how to reinject ideological fervor into the party, how to recruit the young and able, how far to expand membership and leadership to the Taiwanese, how to win any future elections in Taiwan's growing urban areas, how to maintain the credibility of its claim to represent all of China, how to reorganize and reorient the party toward the future problems to be faced on Taiwan--in general, how to maintain the present KMT role on Taiwan under rapidly changing conditions. The Congress is by no means the KMT's last chance to solve these problems, but the probable inability of the party to come up with any real solutions to its basic problems during the twelve days of meetings is symptomatic of the complexity of the dilemmas confronting the GRC. The crucial question of succession to leadership of the KMT following the death of President Chiang Kai-shek will probably be sidestepped by eliminating the office of KMT Deputy Director General. The Central Committee will be enlarged and new members elected, but few changes are predicted for the prestigious KMT Standing Committee. It is expected that the counterattack theme will be mentioned, but downplayed and more attention given to domestic matters

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such as economic progress on Taiwan. Minor low-level organizational changes, a call for "new blood," and greater emphasis on volunteer workers are expected to be featured at the Congress. It does not appear, however, that following the Congress the KMT will be able to find sufficient new talent with ability and motivation to carry out in full the party's traditional role. The party's dominant position on Taiwan has tended to erode gradually--particularly in the urban areas. Such erosion could eventually reduce the GRC's ability to implement some of its present national policies.

The Institution of Party Congresses: Leninist Leftover

Taiwan's ruling political party, the Kuomintang, still bears many vestiges of its early Leninist reorganization in Canton in 1924. One of these pieces of skeletal evidence of the influence of Sun Yat-sen of Comintern agents like Michael Borodin and Adolph Joffe is the KMT's National Party Congress which still resembles superficially its Communist counterpart.

The CCP on the Mainland may well hold its Ninth National Party Congress in the very near future, but the KMT will probably have its Congress even sooner. On March 29 one thousand ranking KMT leaders will gather on a mountain overlooking Taipei in the ornate Peking-style Chung Shan Memorial Hall to open their Tenth Congress.

The Most Revisionist Leninist Party in the World

As will be apparent from the latter half of this report, the KMT does not seem likely to find radical solutions at its Tenth Congress for its problems. But if it does not solve its problems in the near future, what effect will this have on the GRC?

The KMT has two basic functions on Taiwan. First, in the Leninist sense, it parallels the government--from the Gimo who serves as KMT Director General as well as GRC President, down to village KMT Chief. While by no means as pervasive or as ruthless as the ruling Communist parties (the KMT has been called the world's most revisionist party organized along Leninist lines), it supplies



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control and coordination to a very unwieldy system of government. Without the KMT, lines of command might be hard to find on Taiwan. The island has, for example, a provincial government administering an area virtually coterminous with that presently controlled by the central government. The central government itself--with its many yuans, ministries, bureaus, committees, and commissions--has many bodies with overlapping functions. The KMT structure provides much of the needed coordination, and the party serves as a continual middleman in good Chinese fashion between the five yuans and other government agencies at both the central and provincial level.

In a government which has been dominated as long and as thoroughly as the GRC has been by President Chiang, access to the maximum leader is all important. The Gimo does not, for example, attend cabinet meetings. Thus, Wednesday meetings of the KMT Standing Committee, which once a month are combined with meetings of the National Security Council, are one of the few formal means of bringing issues before the President in an arena which permits any discussion. Decisions made by the Gimo at these meetings are often directly translated into action. Government policy in some areas is made by subcommittees under the Standing Committee. At lower levels, KMT workers keep check on popularly elected officials and watch over the populace. In the military, the KMT has established the General Political Warfare Department to ensure loyalty.

The second--and quite separate--function of the party is to compete in local elections. In this function it acts more like a traditional Western European party. The KMT is not, however, supposed to lose. If it does, it is in the awkward position of a control mechanism unable to grasp the man it is supposed to control. A KMT loss in a local election is also treated as a direct slap in the face of the national leadership, since the KMT and national government are so closely identified. Elections serve, however, as a useful outlet for local political pressures--a way of safely granting some political mobility to ambitious Taiwanese. Elections are also useful to the image of Taiwan as a "Showcase of the Free World." The pattern has been set over the years and there is no way now for the party to avoid taking part in elections. It knows, however, that these are going to be harder and harder to win in the future.



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Erosion of the KMT's effectiveness through inability to bring able people to its high-level jobs or to respond to changing local political conditions could result in a corresponding erosion of basic national policies that depend heavily for implementation on the present strong control system.

Taiwan is ruled by a central government made up primarily of indirectly chosen representatives of its Mainlander population, about fifteen percent of the total population of the island. Because of this, Taiwan could well see drastic changes during the period immediately following a succession. Serious problems are more likely and may come sooner if present leaders do not keep in good repair the entire range of mechanisms used to keep Taiwan under control. The KMT is one of the most important of those mechanisms.

"Historic Significance"

Although some government and party officials scoff at the Congress as "a big pep rally," KMT Secretary General Chang Pao-shu told the reporting officer three months ago that the Tenth Congress would have "historic significance" because of the necessary changes that would be proposed in party administration, policies, and personnel. Many other party functionaries have since repeated the same sentiments: The KMT must change or the times will pass it up.

High level KMT workers, including some of the most hidebound old party stalwarts, seem to be fully aware of the difficulties that the party faces. They feel that the party's Standing Committee is being bypassed as the prime policy-making body within the GRC while answers for the complex problems of Taiwan's economic and social modernization are sought. They know all too well that Taiwan's urban population is increasing and city voters have become increasingly difficult to manage--as recent local elections have borne out. They realize that the party is still equated in the eyes of many Taiwanese with Mainlander minority rule. They see that cadre are growing older without adequate replacements entering the ranks. They would like to move to meet these basic problems.



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But the KMT is faced by a basic dilemma. To turn it into a vigorous political force would take a basic recasting of national policies that would remove the present government's basic raison d'etre; it would require a radical shift in the mentality of the KMT's leaders and cadres, a shift that seems unlikely at the present time. Some changes will undoubtedly be made at the Congress this month, which is by no means the party's last chance, and changes will come in the future after the Congress, but it is questionable whether they will be sufficient to return to the KMT its former leading role within the GRC or to prepare it to meet future contingencies.

Contradictions Within the Party

"The KMT is full of contradictions," Chou Te-mei, a Hakka lawyer with strong independent political opinions, told the reporting officer one evening while discussing the upcoming party Congress. "If they try to cover up one contradiction, they leave another bare," Chou said with great satisfaction. "A mainlander minority trying to appeal to a Taiwanese majority, a Leninist party dabbling in local elections, a control mechanism with lax internal discipline, an ideological grouping with the most outworn, illogical political gospel--how can such a thing survive?" Chou asked.

There is some truth in Chou's remarks, as even many veteran party workers would admit. Liang Yung-chang, Deputy Director of the First Section, in a conversation about future party trends, said that KMT discipline depends on Mainlanders who have dedicated their lives to the party, believe in its ideology and will do what they are told to do. Liang was referring to the nomination of Taiwanese to responsible cadre positions in the KMT local structure and said that few Taiwanese would put the party before their friends or local faction. Liang used as one example the case of Ch'en Hsi-ch'ing, former KMT Deputy Secretary General who was discovered to have secretly backed a maverick candidate in a Taichung Mayoralty election last year. "Ch'en was the highest ranking Taiwanese in the Party. If he could not be trusted, no Taiwanese could," Liang said.

No Future in Party Work

Just as many of the party's old line Mainlander cadre see little hope of "Taiwanizing" the KMT, so do many young Taiwanese see



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little point in making a career out of party work. They are not bitterly anti-Mainlander, but they do not see much chance of advancement in an organization with only a token number of Islanders at the top.

Party ideology, as expressed by Sun Yat-sen in his San Min Chu I and in the works of President Chiang, has little intellectual appeal or relevancy to modern problems. Sun Yat-sen probably never expected when he hurriedly prepared his sixteen lectures in 1924 that Taiwanese college students would have to copy his works word for word, fifty years later, in their compulsory course on the Three People's Principles.

The return to the mainland, a fundamental GRC policy around which party propaganda has been constructed for twenty years, has no appeal to most Taiwanese youth. Return to the mainland, insofar as the doctrine has any credence in their minds, is equated with a possibly bloody and expensive military adventure or sharing Taiwan's prosperity with seven hundred million hungry peasants across the Straits.

Some young Taiwanese with ability and education are willing to run for office as KMT candidates in local elections. Contests for county magistrates, provincial assemblymen, and city mayors provide a potentially rapid path to recognition and riches for lawyers and businessmen. But the same men are unwilling to sign on as professional party workers. As Chu Yu-ying, an unsuccessful KMT candidate for magistrate in Hsinchu County pointed out, "For a young Taiwanese, there isn't even a chance for much graft, let alone promotion in a party career."

There are few young men in upper or middle level positions in the KMT. The few that are there do not seem to be too content with their lot. Kao Ming-hui, thirty-six year old Deputy Director of the Third Section, has told several Embassy officers that he would like nothing better than to return to teaching. Hsu Shao-ming, Chief of the Editorial Section in the Central Committee Secretariat, said to the reporting officer that he saw no opportunity for advancement in the party and planned to quit when he could find a suitable job. Hsu is a thirty-one year old who was the first in his class at Cheng Chih University and is a protege of Deputy Secretary General Milton Hsieh.



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Volunteer Workers: "No Time for the KMT"

First Section (Organization) Director Ch'en Chien-chung told the reporting officer that he recognized the difficulty in attracting "new blood" into the KMT as career cadre. Thus, one of the resolutions at the Tenth Congress would call for greater use of volunteer workers. These would supplement the party's regular cadre and would, incidentally, be cheaper. They would also bring to their work a fresh, new spirit, according to Chen. T.S. Lin, the President of Tatung Engineering Co. who was appointed Taipei Municipal KMT Chairman last September, was an example of the wave of the future, said Ch'en.

But Lin has told an Embassy officer that he has little time for the KMT. His Chief Secretary said that Lin only comes to his KMT office for meetings. Other new, non-professional KMT leaders with whom Embassy officers have talked may have more time for the party and may bring a fresh, new spirit to their work, but they seem naive and, of course, lack experience. Winning local elections for the KMT is a job for a tough and skilled political practitioner.

Role of Standing Committee Decreasing in Importance.

At the very top of its hierarchical ladder, its Standing Committee, the KMT over the years has been unable to absorb many of the skilled specialists and "technocrats" who have been so important to Taiwan's economic progress. Longevity counts for a great deal in the party ranks. The technocrats have never had much time for the KMT and have been able, to some degree, to find other avenues of approach to the Gimo. Their absence now from high party councils has contributed to the lessened importance of the KMT as a source of national policy direction.

While Vice President Ch'en Ch'eng was still alive, he was able to provoke meaningful discussion in Standing Committee meetings. His successor C.K. Yen does not have at all the equivalent status in the KMT. Yen speaks often at Standing Committee meetings, but only to deliver reports on government operations. Yen is not a "clique leader" as Chen was; and he does not speak for many of the men he superficially resembles in outlook and background--leaders like Li Kuo-ting, Sun Yun-hsuan and Tao Sheng-yang.



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Meetings and open discussions are not Chiang Ching-kuo's cup of tea either. CCK is apparently fairly quiet at Standing Committee sessions, perhaps because he is in the presence of others who have more Party seniority and who might resent his efforts to speak out, perhaps only because it is not his style.

Timing: A Year and a Half Late but on Youth Day

The KMT Constitution was revised at the Ninth Congress in November 1963 to increase the interval between Congresses from three to four years. Even with this extension, the Tenth Congress is a year and a half late. Little concern has, however, been voiced in party ranks over the delay. The Central Committee (actually Director General Chiang Kai-shek) can, according to the Constitution, "postpone the convocation of the National Congress if this should be deemed necessary"; and Congresses have in the past been held quite irregularly. There has been some conjecture in Taipei that it was the Gimo's indecision over how to handle the question of a new Deputy Director General to succeed the late Vice President Ch'en Ch'eng that delayed the opening of the Tenth Congress until March of this year.

Opening dates for important meetings are not chosen at random in Taipei. March 29th is "Youth Day" in the ROC, commemorating the 1911 martyrdom of 72 young T'ung Meng Hui revolutionaries. One of the keynotes of the Tenth Congress is expected to be a call for "new blood" in the party ranks. Although this was also one of the themes of the Eighth and Ninth Congresses, which were not followed by any significant rejuvenation of the KMT, a more intensive effort may well be made after this Congress to attract some new talent. A few new faces will appear among the delegates to the Congress; technocrats from such organizations as CIECD and cadre from the Youth Corps, for example.

Selection of Delegates

Six hundred elected delegates to the Congress will include three hundred thirty representatives from Taiwan, one hundred thirty-five Overseas Chinese and one hundred thirty-five from "behind the enemy lines." Election for the delegations representing the people residing on Taiwan (including representatives of the various KMT headquarters in the central government organization;



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occupational groups, the military, Kinmen and Matsu, and Taipei City) were held between February 15 and March 5. Amongst the three hundred thirty, about one hundred will actually be Taiwanese, i.e. natives of the Island. Some of the Taiwanese are interested in running for local office and, therefore, see election to the Congress as a valuable asset in the connections to be made during the twelve day meetings. Many of the one hundred thirty-five Overseas Chinese will be directly picked by the Third Section of the KMT Central Committee since elections are no longer feasible in some hua chiao communities. In similar fashion, many of the one hundred thirty-five delegates from "behind the enemy lines" will be selected by Second Section Chief Yeh Hsiang-chih from the ranks of IBMND officers in Hong Kong, Macau, and other areas on the Mainland fringe. The point of origin of those who come from "behind the enemy lines" is naturally considered a closely-held secret. When asked how the delegates would go home after the Congress, KMT Deputy Secretary General Milton Hsieh told an Embassy officer that many would have to reinfiltrate Fukien Province by small boat. However, an Embassy local employee was told by a friend from Hong Kong who had brought ten clandestine delegates to the Congress that while the ten were not exactly from the Mainland itself, they came from very close to the border, "perhaps the New Territories."

Although adverse voting by delegates on Congress resolutions is never considered a potential problem by KMT leaders, the large number of delegates directly appointed by such loyal lieutenants of Chiang Ching-kuo as Yeh Hsiang-chih and Ma Shu-li will further ensure that there will be no surprises.

The seventy-three members of the KMT Central Committee will be ex officio voting delegates. In addition, over four hundred high-ranking party cadre and government leaders will attend in a non-voting status.

Congress Preparations

The Central Committee has been hard at work making arrangements for the Congress since it was first announced by the Gimo on November 1. Agenda items, which are listed in general terms under Article 30 of the KMT Constitution, have required considerable



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preparation. Interminable meetings, the hallmark of KMT and GRC administration, have been held to discuss preparations.

Six small groups under the agenda panel of the Congress Preparatory Committee have been organized to coordinate reports, proposals and resolutions on a variety of subjects. Seven topics to be discussed by these groups and to be included on the agenda were approved by the KMT Standing Committee in November.

One topic for this Congress, just as at the Ninth Congress five years ago, will be land equalization. Sharply rising land prices have contributed to mild inflation and affected industrialization. Shen Shih-ko, Director of the Provincial Land Bureau, in a discussion with the reporting officer and Standing Committee member Kuo Chi, said that it had taken eight three-hour meetings of his special "land reform subcommittee" to finish preparing reports and resolutions. Nothing really new had come up, according to Shen, but it had taken a long time for all thirty members of the Committee to say their piece.

New Approaches to Old Problems

On one recent visit to the Central Committee Secretariat, the reporting officer noted an elderly cadre in a traditional long blue winter gown clipping articles from the KMT-owned Central Daily News and pasting them in a bulging notebook. A secretary in the same office said that all of the Taipei and foreign press comment on the Congress was being collected for Secretary General Chang Pao-shu.

Chang Pao-shu's work style is quite different from that of some of his predecessors. Unlike Ku Feng-hsiang, whom he replaced as Secretary General, Chang is receptive to suggestions from his KMT co-workers. "Chang is always willing to listen to new ideas," said one ranking cadre, approvingly.

The preparations for the Tenth Congress bear the stamp of Chang's leadership of the Congress Preparatory Committee. New approaches to KMT problems are being looked for in some surprising areas. One of the six preparatory subcommittees, for example, has done extensive research on how foreign political parties are organized.



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Ch'en Chien-chung, Central Committee First Section Director, told the reporting officer that this group had looked carefully into the workings of the local organizations of the Republican and Democratic parties in the US (USIS Taipei provided the Embassy with extensive materials to pass on for the research.), the Conservative and Labor parties in the UK, and the LDP, Komeito and Socialist organizations in Japan.

The KMT's local apparatus has also been solicited for possible new departures and public meetings have been held under the sponsorship of Li Huan's Provincial party headquarters. After one meeting of 200 prominent southern leaders in Kaohsiung on February 14, Li said that proposals offered at the symposium would be combined and made into formal resolutions which the Provincial Headquarters would submit to the Congress.

Chang Pao-shu has also held gatherings in Taipei with Taiwanese business leaders to discuss their problems and collect their views on the future of the Island. In China "Will you give me the benefit of your knowledge?" is a standard courtesy phrase, and people appreciate being asked for their views. Wu San-lien, a prominent independent Taiwanese political figure, industrialist and newspaper publisher, said after a meeting of this kind held by Chang that it was highly unusual for the KMT to ask for suggestions from non-KMT businessmen.

Expected Congress Proceedings

Past Congresses and present indications point to a schedule of meetings which will probably include the following:

(1) An opening ceremony presided over by Director General Chiang Kai-shek. The Gimo will deliver an address which should set the tone for the next twelve days of meetings.

(2) Approval by the delegates of a Presidium whose members are nominated by the Director General. This will be an interesting indication of possible changes in party leadership.



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(3) A long political report by Premier Yen Chia-kan. This will be a general review of government accomplishments covering four points--National Defense Reconstruction; Political Reconstruction; Economic Reconstruction and Foreign Relations. No surprises are expected.

(4) Reports by various party and government leaders on party affairs, military affairs, provincial administration, guerrilla activities on the mainland, etc. (Yeh Hsiang-chih's report on mainland activities may possibly be coordinated with some form of small-scale raid on the mainland as was the case at the Ninth Congress. A recent CAS report states, however, that according to the Gimo's instructions, "The counterattack should not be over-emphasized so that if no military action is taken against the mainland our people will not be too disappointed."

(5) Organization of screening committees to pass on resolutions for adoption by the Congress. Most resolutions will actually be prepared before the Congress by small groups in the KMT headquarters. At the Ninth Congress in 1963 there were over one hundred fifty resolutions. Among the ones passed by this Congress will probably be several affecting party organization. Hsueh Jen-yang, KMT Deputy Secretary General, told the reporting officer that there would be minor adjustments in the party's local organizational structure to take into account differences between city and countryside politics. The party call would also be changed in form and concept so that members would spend more time actively doing volunteer work for the KMT and less time listening to reports, Hsueh said. Doctors, for example, would provide medical services without fee in the name of the KMT. In a similar vein, more volunteer, part-time cadre will be used in responsible KMT positions.

(6) Election of the new Central Committee. According to many sources in the party, the Central Committee will once again be enlarged to include members directly named by the Gimo but who lack long party experience. At the Ninth Congress after the delegates elected sixty Central



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Committeemen from a list of 225 candidates submitted by the Gimo, he unilaterally added fourteen more to the list. This time, it is expected that he will add fifteen committeemen to the seventy-five picked by the delegates. Some of the more senior Central Committeemen may be shelved to the Central Advisory Committee.

(7) Amendment of the Party Constitution. The only important amendment expected is the elimination of the Deputy Director General's position. Avoidance of this issue leaves the question of succession to the Gimo's forty-year leadership of the KMT somewhat in the air. The President and his son may feel, however, that CCK's growing control of the top layer of party leadership is already sufficient to ensureselection of CCK or his appointee after the Gimo dies. One hypothesis offered by a high-level party figure to the Political Counselor is that whoever at the Central Committee plenum after the Congress receives the greatest number of votes as a Standing Committee candidate would tacitly be accepted as the next party leader to follow President Chiang. Since almost all Central Committee members vote for CCK, he would thus presumably succeed to party leadership after his father's death.

(8) Revision of the Party Platform. Nothing of substance is expected.

(9) Adoption of the Party Manifesto. One minor change expected in the Manifesto and the platform will be the lack of anti-Soviet propaganda. "Fan Kung, K'ang E," (Oppose the Communists, Resist the Russians), a long-time party slogan, will be quietly buried, according to a source in the Presidential Office.

(10) Adjournment. This will be marked by a closing speech by the Gimo.

(11) Election of the new Standing Committee. Immediately after the Congress, the Tenth Central Committee will hold a one-day plenary meeting to elect its powerful 18-man



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Standing Committee. One member of the Standing Committee, Kuo Chi, told the reporting officer that he does not believe there will be many new faces named this year but the Standing Committee may be enlarged to include one or two more members.

(12) It is widely expected that there will be a high-level personnel shift in the government following the Congress, involving among others, the governor of Taiwan Province and perhaps the Premier. Possible candidates for these offices will be the subject of a separate report.

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ACTION EA-15

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RSC 01 SP 02 SS 25 USIA 12 AID 28 RSR 01 /116 W
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R 110655Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6281
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 4791

SUBJECT: TENTH KMT CONGRESS

REF: TAIPEI 4681

1. KMT STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER CHANG CH'I-YUN IN TALK WITH EMBOFF OCT 11 CONFIRMED PREVIOUS REPORT (REFTEL) THAT TENTH KMT NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS WOULD BE HELD IN MARCH 1969.

2. CHANG SAID GIMO HAS NOT RPT NOT YET DECIDED ON EXACT TIMING OR PASSED ON OTHER CONGRESS ARRANGEMENTS BUT THAT CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM WHICH NORMALLY OPENS ON SUN YAT-SEN'S BIRTHDAY NOV 12 WOULD DEFINITELY BE POSTPONED TO FOLLOW CONGRESS.

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ACTION EA 15

INFO NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, RSR 01 /088 W

R 010958Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6212

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 4681

SUBJECT: KMT PARTY CONGRESS REPORTEDLY TO BE CALLED FOR 1969

1. KMT NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS WILL BE HELD IN MARCH 1969 ACCORDING TO HIGH LEVEL KMT OFFICIAL. CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM (DUE IN NOVEMBER) WILL BE CANCELLED AND NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL MEET FOLLOWING THE CONGRESS, LIANG YUNG-CHANG, DEPUTY DIRECTOR FIRST SECTION KMT (PROTECT SOURCE), TOLD EMBOFF OCTOBER 1.

2. LIANG SAID PRESIDENT CHIANG HAD INDICATED DESIRE FOR THIS TIMING TO SENIOR PARTY MEMBERS BUT DECISION HAD NOT REPEAT NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED. LIANG THOUGHT THAT, AS OF NOW, MARCH CONGRESS WAS "SEVENTY PERCENT CERTAIN".

3. MORE IMPORTANT DUTIES OF NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS ACCORDING TO KMT CONSTITUTION ARE: TO ELECT DIRECTOR GENERAL (GIMO, SINCE 1938), TO APPROVE DIRECTOR GENERAL'S NOMINATION OF DEPUTY DIR-GEN (POSITION VACANT SINCE CH'EN CH'ENG'S DEATH IN 1965), AND TO ELECT CENTRAL COMMITTEE. NINTH CONGRESS WAS HELD IN NOVEMBER 1963. TENTH WAS DUE LAST YEAR BUT WAS POSTPONED ON GIMO'S ORDERS AND SPECIAL KMT COMMITTEE WAS SET UP TO STUDY QUESTION OF WHEN CONGRESS SHOULD BE HELD. RECENT CONGRESSES HAVE BEEN REASSURING GATHERINGS OF PARTY FAITHFUL WITH LITTLE SOLID BUSINESS TRANSACTED BEYOND AUTOMATIC APPROVAL OF GIMO'S CHOICES FOR CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

4. POSSIBILITY OF CHIANG CHING-KUO BEING NAMED DEPUTY DIR. GEN. HAS BEEN DISCOUNTED BY LIANG ANDOTHERS IN KMT HEAD-

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QUARTERS WHO FEEL DYNASTIC IMPLICATIONS WOULD BE TOO STRONG. LIANG NOW BELIEVES POSITION WILL BE LEFT OPEN FOR TIME BEING UNTIL GIMO ACUTUALLY LEAVES THE SCENE. ANOTHER SOURCE POINTED OUT CCK'S PRESENT DOMINATION OF PARTY AFFAIRS MADE IT UNNECESSARY FOR HIM TO TAKE DEPUTY DIR-GEN'S JOB.

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INFO NSA 02,CIAE 00,DODE 00,GPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSC 10,P 04,
RSC 01,SP 02,SS 25,USIA 12,AID 28,RSR 01,/116 W

R 171002Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6134
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 4540

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR TEXT PARA 3.

SUBJECT: TAIWANESE INDUSTRIALIST BECOMES TAIPEI KMT CHAIRMAN

1. KMT STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING SEPTEMBER 16 PASSED ON APPOINTMENT OF LIN TING-SHENG, 48 YEAR OLD BOARD CHAIRMAN OF TATUNG ENGINEERING CO., AS NEW KMT CHAIRMAN FOR TAIPEI MUNCIPALITY. SURPRISING MOVE REPLACES LONG-TIME PROFESSIONAL MAINLANDER KMT CADRE LIANG HSING-I WITH RELATIVELY NON-POLITICAL TAIWANESE BUSINESSMAN IN ONE OF KMT'S MOST DEMANDING JOBS.

2. FORMER TAIPEI KMT CHAIRMAN LIANG YUNG-CHANG TOLD EMBOFF SEPTEMBER 6 THAT LIANG HSING-I WAS QUITE UNHAPPY WITH "THANKLESS JOB OF TRYING TO WORK WITH HENRY KAO" AND WOULD WELCOME TRANSFER TO CALMER PASTURE. TWO LIANGS SWITCHED JOBS ONLY SEVEN MONTHS AGO BUT LIANG HSING-I APPARENTLY HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO COPE WITH PRESSURES OF CITY ASSIGNMENT.

3. FIRST PRESS RUMORS OF CHANGE BROKE SEPTEMBER 14. LIEN HO PAO ARTICLE HINTED NEW CHAIRMAN WOULD BE "WEALTHY, YOUNG, AND TAIWANESE." LIN FITS ALL THREE QUALIFICATIONS. TATUNG COMPANY STARTED BY HIS FATHER IS LARGE ELECTRICAL APPLIANCE MANUFACTURER HERE AND LIN WILL NOT HAVE TO DEPEND FOR HIS LIVING ON HIS KMT SALARY OR ON INFLUENCE PEDDLING. LIN IS NATIVE OF TAIPEI AND AT FORTY-EIGHT HE

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WILL BE YOUNGER THAN MOST SENIOR KMT CADRE.

4. FIRST REACTIONS TO APPOINTMENT HAVE BEEN GENERALLY FAVORABLE. NEWSPAPER REPORTER POINTED OUT TO EMBOFF LIN'S EXECUTIVE ABILITY AND INTELLIGENCE. LIN'S CHAIRMANSHIP OF TAIPEI YOUTH CORPS BRANCH AND CONNECTIONS WITH NEWLY APPOINTED KMT PROVINCIAL CHAIRMAN LI HUAN WAS DESCRIBED BY TAIWANESE SCHOOL TEACHER AS SURE PATH TO SUCCESS THESE DAYS. ANOTHER TEACHER WONDERED HOW LIN IN HIS INEXPERIENCE WOULD FARE WITH TAIPEI CITY ELECTIONS DUE IN MARCH 1969. TAIWANESE DEAN OF UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL FELT THAT APPOINTMENT WAS SIGN OF MAINLANDER NERVOUSNESS OVER POTENTIAL POLITICAL POWER OF WEALTHY TAIWANESE AND LIN WOULD BE USED TO HELP KEEP TAIWANESE IN LINE. LIN HAS BEEN EMBASSY CONTACT FOR MANY YEARS AND IS THOUGHT TO BE REASONABLY CAPABLE AND PROGRESSIVE INDUSTRIALIST BY LOCAL STANDARDS.

5. LIANG YUNG-CHANG COMMENTED THAT CHANGE WAS ONLY PART OF GIMO'S PLAN TO INSTALL TAIWANESE AS CHAIRMEN OF KMT LOCAL COMMITTEES. LIANG SAID GIMO ISSUED ORDER AUGUST 19 THAT TWELEVE REMAINING COUNTY AND CITY CHAIRMEN TO BE NAMED THIS YEAR WOULD ALL BE LOCAL PEOPLE. ORDER HAD GREATLY UPSET MANY AROUND KMT CENTRAL, LIANG SAID, WHO KNEW HOW UNTRUSTWORTHY TAIWANESE CADRE ARE AND HOW THEY INEVITABLY ALLY THEMSELVES WITH LOCAL FACTIONS AND FORGET THEIR PARTY DUTIES. GIMO HAD BEEN PERSUADED TO ALLOW KMT TO TRY IDEA OUT IN ONE OR TWO PLACES BEFORE GOING AHEAD WITH ALL TWELVE NOMINATIONS. KIANG SAID LOCAL CHIEF SECRETARY TO KMT CHAIRMAN WOULD ALSO BE DIRECTLY APPOINTED BY KMT CENTRAL, WHICH MIGHT HELP RETAIN DISCIPLINE.

6. KMT DISCIPLINE DEPENDS ON MAINLANDERS, ACCORDING TO LIANG AND MANY OTHER PARTY STALWARTS AT WORKING LEVEL. THEY FEEL WITH SOME JUSTICE THAT TAIWANESE USE THE KMT FOR THEIR OWN ENDS AND IF IT WAS HANDED OVER TO THEM IT WOULD DISINTEGRATE. YOUNG TAIWANESE KMT POLITICIANS, SPOKEN OF BY SOME AS KMT'S ONLY HOPE, APPEAR TO HAVE LITTLE COMMITMENT TO PARTY OBJECTIVES AND LITTLE SYMPATHY FOR PARTY LEADERS.

7. HOWEVER, DURING LAST SEVERAL YEARS THERE HAS BEEN UNDER GIMO'S PRODDING A STEADY DRIVE ON WITH KMT TO

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INCREASE LOCAL MEMBERSHIP, IMPROVE LOCAL CADRE, AND UPGRADE CANDIDATES FOR LOCAL OFFICE. IT IS QUESTIONABLE HOW SUCCESSFUL THE PARTY HAS BEEN OR COULD BE IN TAIWANIZING ITSELF GIVEN CIRCUMSTANCES ON TAIWAN. SOME TAIWANESE READ GREAT SIGNIFICANCE INTO THE APPOINTMENT OF YOUTH CORPS DEPUTY DIRECTOR LI HUAN AS PROVINCIAL CHAIRMAN. THEY SEE THE FUTURE OF THE KMT AS SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST NATIONAL SALVATION YOUTH CORPS. JUST AS THE YOUTH CORPS PROVIDES SUMMER HIKES, PICINCS, BALL GAMES, DRILLS AND INFORMERS TO KEEP YOUTH BUSY AND UNDER CONTROL, SO THE KMT WILL PROVIDE JOBS, CAUCUSES, ELECTIONS AND CAMPAIGNS TO KEEP POLITICIANS OUT OF HARMS WAY. ACCORDING TO THESE OBSERVERS APPOINTMENTS OF TAIWANESE SUCH AS LIN ARE EITHER (A) WINDOW DRESSING, IF THEY ARE NOT GIVEN ANY AUTHORITY OR (B) AN INDICATION THAT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT'S POWER WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY DILUTED IN THE FUTURE IF THESE YOUNG TAIWANESE NEWCOMERS ARE GIVEN ANY REAL POWER.

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ACTION EA 15

INFO NSA 02,CIAE 00,DODE 00,GPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSC 10,P 04,
RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20,USIA 12,AID 28,SSC 01,RSR 01,/112 W

R 200938Z AUG 68
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5917
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 4174

SUBJ: TEN HIGH RANKING KMT OFFICIALS REASSIGNED

1. KMT CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE AUGUST 19 IN REGULAR MONDAY MEETING APPROVED GIMO'S DECISION TO SHIFT TEN HIGH RANKING OFFICIALS. CHANGE FOLLOWS TRANSFER OF KU FENG-HSIANG KMT SECRETARY-GENERAL AUGUST 13 AND WILL FURTHER STRENGTHEN CHIANG CHING-KUO'S CONTROL OVER KMT AFFAIRS.

2. PROVINCIAL KMT CHAIRMAN HSUEH JEN-YANG, HIGHEST RANKING KMT OFFICIAL LEFT WHO HAD NO REAL TIES TO DEFENSE MINISTER, WAS REPLACED WITH LI HUAN, DIRECTOR OF KMT 1ST SECTION AND ONE OF CCK'S FIRMEST SUPPORTERS. HSUEH HAS BEEN MOVED UPSTAIRS TO RELATIVELY UNINFLUENTIAL POSITION AS 3RD DEPUTY SEC-GEN OF KMT CENTRAL COMMITTEE VICE CH'EN HSI-CH'ING.

3. CH'EN, WHO WAS ONLY TAIWANESE AT THIS RANK IN PARTY STRUCTURE HAS BEEN APPOINTED ADVISER TO EXECUTIVE YUAN.

4. CH'EN CHIEN-CHUNG, DIRECTOR OF KMT 6TH SECTION FOR LAST 12 YEARS AND AN UNSWERVING FOLLOWING OF CCK WILL TAKE LI HUAN'S IMPORTANT POSITION AS DIRECTOR 1ST SECTION (PARTY ORGANIZATION). CH'EN WILL BE REPLACED BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAL CHIEF HSU CH'ING-LAN.

5. ACCORDING TO KMT ORGAN CENTRAL DAILY NEWS ARTICLE AUGUST 20, "THESE PERSONNEL CHANGES ARE DESIGNED TO (A) DEVOTE SPECIAL EMPHASIS TO PARTY AFFAIRS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, (B)

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ACTION EA 15

INFO CIAE 00,DODE 00,GPM 03,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,NSC 10,P 04,
RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20,USIA 12,RSR 01,AID 28,/108 W

R 220934Z APR 68
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5192
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 2882

SUBJECT: RESULTS OF APRIL 21 LOCAL ELECTIONS

1. SUMMARY: PRELIMINARY RESULTS SHOW RULING KMT WON EXPECTED VICTORY IN APRIL 21 LOCAL ELECTIONS AND DID EVEN BETTER THAN IN LAST SUCH ELECTIONS. ITS NOMINEES WON SEVENTEEN OUT OF TWENTY ELECTIONS FOR MAYOR OR COUNTY MAGISTRATE, SIXTY-ONE SEATS IN SEVENTY-ONE MAN TAIWAN PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY. IN 1964 KMT WON SIXTEEN AND LOST FIVE ELECTIONS FOR MAYOR OR MAGISTRATE. IN 1963 KMT POLITICIANS WON 61 AND LOST 13 PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY SEATS. THIS YEAR'S 74 PERCENT

PAGE TWO RUASTP 2882 C O N F I D E N T I A L
TURNOUT WAS SLIGHTLY HIGHER THAN THAT OF PAST ELECTIONS.

2. MAYORS: AS IN PAST ELECTIONS, NON-KMT CANDIDATES FARED BETTER IN CITIES THAN RURAL COUNTIES. NON-KMT CANDIDATES WON TWO OF THE FOUR MAYORALTY ELECTIONS, TAICHUNG AND KAOHSIUNG. IN TAICHUNG A KMT "MAVERICK", LIN CH'ENG-CH'IU DEFEATED PARTY NOMINEE LIN TING-SHAN. IN KAOHSIUNG, YANG CHIN-HU, AND AGING NATIONAL ASSEMBLYMAN, DEFEATED KMT NOMINEE CH'EN WU-CHANG AFTER A BITTER CAMPAIGN. THE KAOHSIUNG ELECTION WAS LARGEST, MOST IMPORTANT ONE. THE KMT FAILURE THERE IS (2) ALMOST AS LARGE A LOSS OF FACE FOR THE PARTY AS ITS

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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Research Memorandum

REA-10, February 28, 1968

To : The Secretary
Through: S/S
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes Thomas L. Hughes

Subject: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Succession Question in Taiwan

REA-10
POL 15-1 CHINAT
XR POL 12 CHINAT
XR DEF 6 CHINAT

If Chiang Kai-shek should leave power before Taiwan's next presidential election in 1972, Vice President C.K. Yen will most likely succeed him as titular head of state of the Republic of China. Many observers in Taiwan believe that Chiang's eldest son, Chiang Ching-kuo, will become the real power behind the throne, however. Some observers further speculate--though with little foundation--that without his father's support, Ching-kuo's rivals will remove him from power within a few years. This paper examines the nature of Ching-kuo's present influence in the three most important centers of power in Taiwan, and the likelihood of his controlling them in the future.


Abstract

There are three principal centers of power in Taiwan, control of which is vital to one who aspires to succeed Chiang Kai-shek as leader of the Republic of China (GRC). These are the Kuomintang Party (KMT), the military, and the intelligence agencies. Control of the KMT is essential because the party permeates all levels of governmental and non-governmental organizations in Taiwan and influences both policy and operations. The military is important because it is the force which could either protect or evict the man in power. And the intelligence agencies are necessary to detect efforts to oust those in power.

Chiang Kai-shek remains the supreme authority over all three of these power centers, and he has assisted Chiang Ching-kuo to assume the number two position. Ching-kuo was a member of the KMT Central Reform Committee, which from 1950-52 reorganized and rejuvenated the party after the GRC's retreat from


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This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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ORIGIN/ACTION EA-6

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# AIRGRAM

POL 12 CHINAT
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A-447 (NO.) CONFIDENTIAL (HANDLING INDICATOR)

Action assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer

TO : Department of State

INFO: Amconsul Hong Kong
Amembassy Tokyo

FROM : Amembassy Taipei

DATE: January 20, 1968

SUBJECT: Taipei City KMT Chairman Comments on Mayor Henry Kao and on the Taiwan Independence Movement

REF : A) Embtel 1829 1/9/68; B) Taipei A-776 5/20/67

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In a recent conversation with the reporting officer, Taipei City KMT Chairman Liang Yung-chang indicated that non-KMT Taipei Mayor Henry Kao will be replaced perhaps before the end of 1968. Liang vigorously attacked Kao's administration of the City Government. He said that the Party refused to let Kao attend the recent KMT Central Committee plenum and still had not approved Kao's application to join the KMT. He implied that Kao had been given a fair chance to show what he could do as mayor of the new special municipality and had failed. However, it still seems unlikely that Kao will be replaced until after the Taipei City Assembly elections tentatively scheduled for this November are safely out of the way.

Liang also outlined the Lin Shui-ch'uan case (see reftel) and commented on the Taiwan independence movement. According to Liang, GRC officials fear the TIM organizations in Japan more than those in the United States because of Japan's proximity to Taiwan. Liang said that the GRC watches the TIM organizations in the United States both through Chinese diplomats stationed there and through Chinese professors and students on American college campuses.

McCONAUGHY

ENCLOSURE: Memorandum of Conversation

FORM DS-323 4-62

CONFIDENTIAL - GROUP 3

FOR DEPT. USE ONLY ☑ In ☐ Out

Drafted by: POL:JAFowler:bp 1/19/68

Contents and Classification Approved by: DDean AWHummel

Clearances:

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Authority NND 969000
By NARA Date 9/16/03

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: LIANG Yung-chang, Taipei City KMT Chairman
Jerry A. Fowler, Second Secretary of Embassy

DATE & PLACE: January 9, 1968, Officers' Club

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Henry Kao and the City Government. During lunch at the Officers Club, Liang Yung-chang, the Taipei City KMT Chairman, vigorously attacked non-KMT Mayor Henry Kao's administration of the City Government. Before he left for the United States last fall, Liang said, he told Kao to finish fleshing out the new Special Municipality Government. The section heads were appointed last summer, but many of them still lacked a full complement of subordinates. Liang said that he advised Kao to finish making these appointments so Kao could confine himself to decision making and let capable subordinates carry out these decisions.

But Liang said that after he returned from his trip to the United States in December he was disappointed to find that Kao still had not made these appointments. The people the section heads proposed Kao wouldn't accept, according to Liang, and the people Kao proposed the section heads wouldn't accept. Consequently, Liang said, there is little cooperation between the mayor and the section heads, the City Government still lacks many key, middle level personnel, and it is not working at peak efficiency.

Liang also said that Kao lacked capable people of his own, a criticism others have made of the Taipei Mayor. Kao's brain-trusters whom he recruited from within the KMT, Liang said, are the Party failures. Not the City Government government section heads, Liang said, but the personnel in the secretary's office, joined the City Government because they could rise no further in the Party and were being forced out of KMT headquarters.

Henry Kao and the Fifth KMT Plenum. According to Liang some KMT members wanted to invite Kao to last year's KMT Central Committee Plenum because the Plenum planned to discuss the City administration. Some papers printed articles saying Kao would attend the Plenum. However, Liang said, many KMT members thought that attendance at the meeting should be confined to



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Authority NND 969000
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Party members only, and the Party withdrew the invitation to Kao. "Because I returned from the United States about that time," Liang said, "it was rumored that I had prevented Kao from attending the Plenum." The rumor is untrue, Liang said, but added that he did not feel non-KMT Mayor Kao should attend a Party conference. Later Kao, through some intermediaries, again asked to attend the Plenum, Liang said. Kao argued that since the papers reported he would attend, it would be embarrassing for all concerned if he did not. Nevertheless, Liang said, Kao was not permitted to attend the Party conference.

Henry Kao and the KMT. Liang said that Kao has again asked to join the KMT and has set two conditions: one, he wants to be asked to join by someone very high ranking. (Last year Liang said that Kao wanted the President to ask him to join.) Two, Kao wants to join Central Party Headquarters. Kao set these two conditions, Liang said, so that Kao could gain as much face as possible when he joined.

Liang said that a high ranking committee within the Party decided to wait before deciding on Kao's application. Liang was unclear, but may have meant the Central Standing Committee. Many Party members fear that if Kao were admitted to the KMT and did poorly as Mayor he would discredit the Party, Liang said. There is a large faction in the KMT which is against admitting Kao, according to Liang, no matter how well Kao does as Mayor. Many Party members including Liang himself, feel that if Kao joined, he would be joining for purely opportunistic reasons, not because he believed in any of the Party's principles. Later if it suited his convenience, Kao would quickly desert the Party, Liang said.

COMMENT: Liang's remarks indicate that the GRC may replace Kao with another appointee before the end of the year. Liang was more critical of Kao to the reporting officer than ever before. He implied that Kao had been given a fair chance to show what he could do as Mayor of the new Taipei Special Municipality and that Kao had failed. Liang asked if the Americans thought Kao was a good Mayor and administrator and seemed anxious to learn how the Americans would react if Kao were replaced.

However, it is still unlikely that Kao will be replaced until after the Taipei City Assembly elections which are tentatively scheduled for this November. If Kao were replaced before then,



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his supporters might express their protest by voting for non-KMT candidates in the Assembly election. Kao himself could run for the Assembly or campaign for other candidates. The campaign would give him an opportunity to rebuild his political organization and enhance his prestige as anti-KMT Taiwanese leader.

The Taiwan Independence Movement. After Liang outlined the Lin Shui-chuan case (see reftel) Fowler asked him if Kuo Hsi-lin had any connection with Lin. (Kuo is a young Taiwanese activist whom the Japanese recently deported for violating their immigration laws.) Liang replied that he had never heard of the Kuo case. Kuo must have broken some criminal statute, Liang said, the Japanese would never have deported him for political reasons. There are too many anti-GRC Chinese in Japan, Liang said, the Japanese could never deport them all to Taiwan. However, Liang meant more by "anti-GRC Chinese" than just the independence movement activists, for he said that during a visit to an Overseas Chinese school in Yokohama he bumped into some young Chinese Communists. He called them "Red Guards".

The Japan based independence movement worries the GRC more than its American counterpart, Liang said. Japan is closer to Taiwan so it is easier for the activists in Japan to maintain contact with Taiwan. There are wealthy Taiwanese in Japan who can support the movement, he said. And there are Communists in Japan who can utilize it to attack the GRC.

The size and strength of the movement in America depends on the local GRC representatives in the U.S., according to Liang. "Where our people do their work well," he said, "the movement is very weak." Liang said that it is weak on the west coast, outside of Los Angeles, and in the south. It is strong on the east coast and in the northern midwest, he said.

Various GRC officials in the United States are responsible for watching the independence movement groups, according to Liang. In some cities the Consul or Consul General is responsible, he said. On some university campuses a Chinese professor is responsible. "We do not send anyone specifically to watch the independence movement," he said, "if we did, they would not be admitted to the United States," Liang admitted frankly. "Instead we give our people who are going on other assignments the concurrent responsibility for reporting on the independence movement," he said.

POL:JAFowler:bp 1/19/68



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

Pol 12 CHINAT

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A-403 NO. | CONFIDENTIAL | HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO: Amembassy TOKYO
Amconsul HONG KONG

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI DATE: January 5, 1968

SUBJECT : KUO Yu-hsin; The Ilan County KMT; and the "Sunday Christian" Party Member

REF :

SUMMARY

Most Taiwanese members of the Kuomintang consider their allegiance to an individual Taiwanese political leader, their high school class, their local faction, and other local groups and cliques more important than their membership in the KMT. Some Taiwanese joined the Party for opportunistic reasons, some were forced to join. None of them takes his membership very seriously. They consider the KMT to be a central government, Mainlander organization which does not represent the interests of their local Taiwanese groups. They give it as little of their time and energy as possible.

During a two day visit to Ilan County with non-KMT Taiwan Provincial Assemblyman Kuo Yu-hsin, the reporting officer met Kuo's election winning, Ilan County political team. It is composed of Kuo's old high school classmates, some Japanese educated doctors, and young politicians. Many of Kuo's supporters belong to the KMT. But although the Party has ordered them not to, they continue to support Kuo and to campaign for him.

Ilan County vividly illustrates the local KMT Chairman's Taiwanese dilemma. Using Taiwanese cliques, factions, local interest groupings, an astute Taiwanese politician like Kuo can assemble a powerful political machine. If the local KMT Chairman lets an influential Taiwanese like Kuo and all of his close supporters remain outside the KMT, the KMT could lose nearly all the elected offices in the County. If the

FORM 4-62 DS-323

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Drafted by: POL:JAFowler:bp 1/4/68

Contents and Classification Approved by: DDean AWHummel

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By NARA Date 9/10/03

county KMT Chairman persuades or forces these Taiwanese leaders or their supporters to join the Party, the KMT gains some control over them. But at the same time the KMT Chairman dilutes the Party membership with a great many lukewarm or even embittered "Sunday Christian" Taiwanese KMT members.

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Kuo Yu-hsin's Ilan Machine. Taiwan Provincial Assemblyman Kuo Yu-hsin is a political anomaly. He is a successful anti-KMT politician from a rural county. On Taiwan the tractable farmer usually elects KMT candidates. But Kuo, who is the KMT's noisiest critic since "big gun" Kuo Kuo-chi, is from Ilan County, a land of rice farmers and fishermen. Yet Kuo has never lost an election; he has been in the Taiwan Provincial Assembly ever since it was formed. In the last election, in 1963, the KMT did not even try to defeat him.

The reporting officer recently spent a day and a half wandering around Ilan County with Kuo, calling on officials, meeting Kuo's friends and trying to learn how his undefeated political team works. The visit provided interesting insights into Taiwanese politics and the relationship between the Taiwanese and the KMT.

Many of Kuo's supporters are his old high school classmates. Kuo made a point of visiting the school before he caught the train back to Taipei. Today it looks like any Taiwanese high school, a drab two-story building with a big statue of Chiang Kai-shek in front. But before the war it was the only agricultural senior high school in north Taiwan and the only senior high school in Ilan. Its graduates include many of the present Ilan community leaders. On Taiwan, classmates are obligated to help classmates. So Kuo's old school chums, like the Mayor of Touch'eng Township for example, always help get out the vote for Kuo. Taiwan Province KMT Chairman, Hsueh Jen-yang, admits that because Kuo's numerous and influential classmates always support Kuo, no KMT candidate can defeat him.

Other local leaders, who never went to school with Kuo, also belong to his Ilan team. Many of them are doctors. In most small Taiwanese market towns the town doctor is about the only college graduate over forty. The doctor is the town "intellectual" and opinion leader, much as he was in small town America fifty years ago. In Ilan, Kuo introduced the



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reporting officer to at least eight doctors who help Kuo win elections. They ranged from an old pediatrician in a filthy store-front office in Ilan City to a medical entrepreneur in a modern hospital in Lotung. They included the speaker of the Ilan County Council, a prominent KMT leader, who loaned anti-KMT Kuo his car and driver during the two day visit.

All of Kuo's classmates and most of these doctors belong to the over forty year old, Japanese-educated generation of Taiwanese. But Kuo also leads a set of younger Ilan County politicians he calls "little brothers". Several of them belong to the Ilan County Council. One of them, a bright young college graduate, is the mayor of Ilan City. During this visit, some of this group met Kuo at the station. They made his appointments and two or three went along on all his calls.

Kuo put this team together himself and he keeps it together through tireless politicking. Because Kuo lives in Taipei, when he visits Ilan, he works much harder than other Assemblymen who live among their constituents. Village squires in rubber boots, nervous students, seedy, would-be politicians, an endless stream of Taiwanese, came to the hotel on foot, bicycle, motorcycle, to ask Kuo for favors. One of them needed a building permit; another wanted to place his son in a Taipei high school. Kuo promised them all that he would do what he could. Kuo was always polite and his famous sense of humor never deserted him. These petitioners kept Kuo up past midnight but the next morning he was dressed by six, grabbed an umbrella and walked out in a driving rain to call on another old supporter, the owner of a sleazy tea house and hot spring hotel.

These bush league politicians, small town doctors, and old school chums are the skeleton of what some Taiwanese mistakenly call the "Kuo Yu-hsin faction". Factions exist in nearly every Taiwanese county; Ilan is no exception. The Lan Yang River (or khe in Taiwanese) divides Ilan in half, geographically and politically. There is a north of the river or khe pak political faction and a south of the river or khe lam faction. In some Taiwanese counties different factions never intermarry. The split is not that complete in Ilan. But according to several Taiwanese, if the Ilan County Magistrate is a khe pak, the county government will always spend more county money on "local construction" north of the river



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than in khe lam county south of the river. Kuo actually does not lead an independent faction; his group is allied with the khe pak faction. Kuo is from Ilan, north of the river; most of his voters live in the north; and most of the doctors, politicians, and classmates he introduced also live in the north.

Kuo's Support Inside the KMT. The khe pak faction and what is more important non-KMT Assemblyman Kuo's group of supporters cuts right across KMT Party lines. In fact, Kuo seems to have as many supporters inside the Ilan KMT as outside. Some of them, like the Speaker of the Ilan County Council and the Mayors of Touch'eng and Erchieh Townships, have belonged to the Party for several years.

Some of them joined only recently. After the last Ilan County Council election eleven out of the thirty-five councilmen were non-KMT. Most of them were Kuo's "little brothers", according to one councilman, but the Ilan County KMT Chairman forced all but four of them to join the Party. A year ago the Chairman also forced the young Ilan City Mayor to join the KMT, according to Kuo and a county councilman. The Mayor ran for office as a non-KMT candidate with Kuo's support and was elected.

Then last year the Party uncovered a corruption case in the City Government, Kuo said, and the Ilan KMT Chairman threatened to have the Mayor sentenced to a year in prison unless he joined the KMT. The Mayor joined, and the Party endorsed him for a second term. Kuo said that a couple of his "little brothers" thought the Mayor should have resisted the Party and threatened to run against the Mayor next year as independent. Kuo said he "persuaded" them to support the Mayor's campaign instead.

Even after they join the KMT, Kuo's "little brothers" help Kuo campaign against the Party. The KMT Mayors of Touch'eng and Erchieh Townships both said they had campaigned for Kuo even after the Party ordered them to stop. They probably did not slap the KMT in the face by speaking publicly on Kuo's behalf, but in rural Taiwan public speeches do not generate very many votes anyway. They probably asked their supporters to visit the voters and ask them to vote for Kuo, which seems to be the best way to get a farmer's ballot.



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Kuo's following inside the KMT can even help Kuo influence Party policy in Ilan. Kuo claims that the Party nominee for Ilan County Magistrate cannot win election without his support. Kuo is probably exaggerating. But if Kuo ever entered the magistrate's election himself or backed a KMT maverick or strong independent, he could cause the Party a great deal of difficulty and expense.

Kuo spent part of his Ilan visit trying to persuade the KMT not to renominate the present County Magistrate Ch'en Chien-tung. Kuo told his "little brothers" inside the Party to support Hsu Cheng-wen for the nomination. Hsu is a young Taiwanese doctor whose family operates a spic and span two hundred fifty bed hospital in Lotung, one of the largest private hospitals on Taiwan. Although Hsu is from the khe lam, a khe pak leader, a former magistrate, is backing his candidacy.

If the KMT nominates Hsu, Kuo will probably have an easier campaign for the Assembly next spring. Hsu's brother, LO Wen-t'ang, has applied for the KMT nomination for Taiwan Provincial Assemblyman. If Lo obtains it, he will run against Kuo who is usually unopposed. Kuo could almost certainly defeat Lo, but would have to campaign harder than usual. But if the KMT nominates Hsu Cheng-wen for Magistrate, most local observers say that the Party will not nominate his brother Lo for Assemblyman, because if they both won their family would become too powerful. Therefore, Kuo apparently was trying to persuade the KMT to nominate Hsu for Magistrate so they will not nominate Lo for the Assembly and so Kuo can run unopposed.

After one overhears Kuo negotiating with KMT members and meets his loyal "little brothers" inside the Party, one realizes how unimportant Party membership is to the Taiwanese in Ilan. They place "big brother" Kuo, their high school classmates, their faction, etc. ahead of the Party. Taiwanese KMT members in other counties also put their local factions and friends before the KMT. But in other counties nearly all the "big brothers" and faction leaders belong to the KMT. A Taiwanese KMT member need not break Party discipline to support his group or faction. But in Ilan County Kuo Yu-hsin is outside the Party. Influential Taiwanese Party members like township mayors, County Councilmen and even the Speaker of the County Council frequently split with the KMT in order to support Kuo and thus show in a clear and striking manner how weak their commitment to the KMT really is.



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The KMT's "Sunday Christian" Taiwanese. Kuo's supporters inside the Ilan KMT are what one Taiwanese calls "Sunday Christian" Taiwanese KMT members. They joined the Party to get a job, or they were forced to join like the Ilan City Mayor. The "Sunday Christians" are not trying to take the KMT over from within. They doubt that the Mainlanders would ever permit this.

Most of the Taiwanese KMT members the reporting officer knows and probably most Taiwanese and even some Mainlander KMT members are "Sunday Christians." The "Sunday Christians" include many ordinary Party members, politicians, and at least one Taiwanese Party official.

Aside from "Sunday Christians" there is another, smaller group of Taiwanese KMT members, whom Kuo and other Taiwanese call "hau chhu" or "filial sons". One could also call them "rice Christians". They are all politicians who own large business enterprises, like Lai Sen-lin and Hsu Chin-te. The KMT government gives their enterprises preferential treatment. In return they loudly support the Party line.

The "Sunday Christians"of the KMT, on the other hand give the Party as little of their time, energy, and support as possible. Like Kuo's friends in Ilan, they sometimes back non-KMT candidates in local elections. They never parrot the Party line in public if they can avoid it. They attend Party meetings as seldom as possible. A young Taiwanese who is now trying to obtain the KMT nomination for County Magistrate in Hsinchu County said that his cell in the Ministry of the Interior seldom meets. The cell leader falsifies the minutes and attendance records he sends to Party headquarters. This practice seems to be widespread. Hsin Wen-ping, the former Mayor of Tainan City, said that he belonged to two cells when he was Mayor, one in the city government and one in his neighborhood. "Neither one ever met," he said, "We made up the minutes of the meetings we did not hold." Nevertheless, the Tainan City KMT headquarters gave Hsin one model cadre award and one model cell leader award. A young Taiwanese official in the Government Information Office said that he is still on the roll of a cell in Taichung although he moved to Taipei several years ago. He never attends cell meetings. He said that if the



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cell does meet, a friend signs the roll for him. After they join the Party, politicians like Hsin Wen-ping and the Mayor of Ilan City quit attacking the KMT in their public statements. But privately they are bitter, outspoken critics of the KMT regime.

On the other hand, the local KMT Chairman cannot allow these local Taiwanese political leaders to stay outside of the Party. This is the dilemma the local KMT Chairman faces. Ilan illustrates it perfectly. A clever, prestigous politician like Ilan Assemblyman Kuo, by cultivating small town doctors, reminding old classmates of their obligations, encouraging and supporting "little brothers" when they run for office, and by utilizing khe lam, khe pak, or other local factions, can build a strong political team. It is all Taiwanese - not controlled by Mainlanders like the KMT. It is based on old networks of grassroot interests, issues, and groupings - not imposed from above like the KMT. If it was completely outside the KMT, in Ilan and most other counties, it could wrest all the local elected offices away from the Party.

To prevent this from occuring, the local KMT Chairman must somehow get these local Taiwanese leaders or their close followers into the KMT. But like Kuo and his followers in Ilan, the Taiwanese consider the KMT an alien, Mainlander organization. In Ilan and almost every other county and city the local Party Chairman and his assistants are Mainlanders, a fact which only reinforces this impression. The KMT is not as old or close knit as these Taiwanese high school or college alumni associations. It is not based on a tough network of grassroots interests like their local faction. Therefore, the average Taiwanese politician feels little desire to join the KMT. The local Party Chairman using various "carrots and sticks" must herd him into the Party. Some politicians, like Kuo Yu-hsin, refuse to join, so the KMT Chairman recruits their close followers. This gives the chairman some control over these politicians and their supporters. At least he can prevent them from attacking the Party in public. On the surface, the KMT is winning most of the local elections, and the local Chairman has retained control of his county. But at the same time he has weakened the KMT. By recruiting their followers he has given non-KMT leaders like Kuo some power to influence KMT policies and nominations. And the Chairman has diluted the Party's membership by recruiting a great many lukewarm or even embittered Taiwanese into the KMT as its "Sunday Christians."

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

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POL 18 CHINAT
POL 12 CHINAT
AGR 6 CHINAT

FOR RM USE ONLY

A-391 NO. CONFIDENTIAL HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO: Amconsul HONG KONG
Amembassy TOKYO

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI DATE: December 23, 1967

SUBJECT : Farmers Associations and Taiwanese Politics in Taoyuan County

REF :

SUMMARY

A Township Farmers Association is a strong "rice roots" organization with a large Taiwanese membership. It is more important to the farmer than his township government. If a farsighted Taiwanese could become general manager of a Township Farmers Association and managed it honestly and capably, he could turn it into a powerful, long-lasting political machine.

In Taoyuan County, on the other hand, corrupt Taiwanese politicians more interested in quick gains than long-term political investments, have mismanaged most township associations. Dishonest general managers, often local politicians, have left these associations with large debts which prevent them from fully developing programs that would benefit the farmer. Apparently the Taoyuan County Farmers Associations are the worst on Taiwan. But what is true of Taoyuan is probably true to some degree in many areas throughout Taiwan.

Taoyuan farmers may tolerate a corrupt general manager because the farmers are ignorant, because the general manager belongs to the same local faction, or because the farmer has no choice. The election system enables a would-be manager to bribe the farmer's representatives and buy his way into office.

It would be possible for the KMT to keep dishonest politicians out of the farmers associations because the KMT closely supervises the elections, more or less nominates the directors and

FORM 4-62 DS-323 CONFIDENTIAL - GROUP 3 FOR DEPT USE ONLY [X] In [ ] Out

Drafted by: POL:JAFowler:bp 12/21/67
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By NARA Date 9/16/03

supervisors of the associations, and controls the largest bloc of votes. However some of the local KMT chairmen themselves are not honest, and an unscrupulous politician who wants to take over the association in their township can buy their compliance. As long as the farmers associations have these management problems they cannot become a threat to KMT control in the rural townships.

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The Township Farmers Association. To the Taiwanese farmer, his Township Farmers Association is more important than his township government. In many townships the farmers association owns more real estate, employs more people, and spends more money than the township office. It collects some of the farmer's taxes, loans him money, insures his livestock, and teaches him new farming methods. It sells him feed, seeds, and insecticide. It is the only place he can buy chemical fertilizer. In each county these township associations are combined into a County Farmers Association. But the county association is a relatively small coordinating office; the township association is the most important to the farmer.

Theoretically, the farmer himself runs his Township Farmers Association. Each farmer belongs to a small "Agricultural Unit", usually his village. It elects representatives to the Township Farmers Association Meeting which elects a Board of Supervisors and Board of Directors. The directors hire a general manager, who is a full time employee who actually runs the association. In many rural townships he is more powerful than the township mayor.

The Township Farmers Associations are overwhelmingly Taiwanese. Since very few farmers are Mainlanders, nearly all the members are Taiwanese. Nearly all the board members and general managers are also Taiwanese. In twelve township associations in Taoyuan County, the reporting officer only met one Mainlander, and he was not a farmers association official but a Taiwan Provincial Food Bureau inspector.

No wonder then that Chinese officials usually tell foreign visitors that the farmers associations are examples of local, Taiwanese, democratic institutions; of the farmer, by the farmer, and for the farmer; sort of rural town meetings.



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ORIGIN/ACTION

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CC: USATG

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

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POL 12 CHINAT
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FOR RM USE ONLY

A-371 NO. | CONFIDENTIAL [1] HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO: Amcongen HONG KONG

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI DATE: December 13, 1967

SUBJECT : KMT Central Committee Plenum

REF : Taipei 1472; Taipei 1515
EA EA

SUMMARY

The Fifth Plenum of the Ninth Kuomintang Central Committee which ended November 23 was a significant departure from previous plenary sessions in its length, its attention to practical proposals and the sense of urgency and impatience shown by Director General Chiang Kai-shek. The twelve day meeting, attended by over 400 KMT officials, was completely dominated by the President who set most of the agenda, attended many meetings and paid close and critical attention to reports given at the meeting. The forty-one resolutions passed, although not yet fully available, are reported to contain relatively realistic recommendations for changes to many sectors of the GRC governmental structure.

BACKGROUND

This year's Central Committee Plenum has been unusual in several ways. The longest such meeting that has yet been held, it was also probably one of the hardest working and certainly the most closely devoted to relatively practical answers to realistic problems.

Plenary sessions in the past had been largely relaxed gatherings of the party faithful and were not considered

GROUP 3

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forums for the conduct of meaningful business. Resolutions were either vague general policy statements usually with little relevance to local problem areas or echoes of policies already decided elsewhere. Selection of the Central Committee's Standing Committee had provided most of the interest in the annual meeting but was largely a game of musical chairs that rotated long-time Party functionaries in and out of seats on this key committee.

Why President Chiang should decide at this juncture to have such a meeting as this is not entirely clear. However, during the last few months the Gimo has shown the effect of influence from several quarters. Japan and Korea have recently been visited by a series of high ranking GRC officials including National Reconstruction Committee Chairman Chou Chih-jou, Economic Minister Li Kuo-ting and Minister without Portfolio Tien Chiung-chin. General Chou told the reporting officer that apparently it was a report by Tien on measures taken in Japan and Korea to speed economic progress that impressed the Gimo and resulted in the attention paid to Korea and Japanese administrative procedures during the plenum. Advice from the Hornig mission also must have made a strong impact on the President; several agenda topics closely paralleled initial recommendations of the Hornig group and "science" was one of the watchwords of the meeting along with "reform" and "action". Advice tendered by four Sino-American economists who had visited here this summer also appears to have impressed the President.

An earlier indication of President Chiang's impatience with the pace of progress here was a document circulated to all high level government officials in August. Liu Hou, Deputy Director of the First Section of the Presidential Office, told the reporting officer that the Gimo had ordered wide distribution of a translation of the concluding chapter of R. H. Tawney's "Land and Labor in China." The last chapter of this book contains a sweeping indictment of Chinese officialdom's propensity for inactivity and evasion of responsibility and of the unsuitability of traditional Chinese values in the modern era.

Another possible cause for the President's emphasis on domestic reform might be that mentioned by Chang Pao-shu, Director of the KMT Policy Committee. Chang said that the success already

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achieved in realizing economic progress here has drawn the President's interest to domestic problems, made him aware of the accomplishments of some of his more competent ministers and caused him to be impatient with obstacles to even faster progress.

Still another reason for the nature of this year's plenary session could be the Gimo's desire to use it as a substitute for the National Party Congress due this year according to the KMT Constitution. Postponement of the Congress (the subject of one of the Plenum's resolutions referred the holding of the next Congress to the Central Committee) delayed the problem of electing Party Congress delegates and a new Central Committee and, perhaps most important, a new Deputy Director General. The thorough review of Party and government policies conducted at this plenum could be construed as a partial substitution for a Party Congress.

Plenum Proceedings. The President opened the meeting November 12, Sun Yat-sen's birthday. In a speech at the ornate Sun Yat-sen Cultural Building on Yangmingshan, the Gimo appealed to the seventy-four Central Committeemen, thirty-four Alternates, and one hundred nineteen Consultative members and two hundred other high ranking KMT officials, "to make the Party a revolutionary Party, the government an able government and the nation a modern nation." Five more days of reports followed from government and Party leaders, mostly of a thoroughly routine nature. Madame Chiang Kai-shek told the Ambassador that she found most of them long and boring. However, the Gimo apparently found them interesting since he attended many sessions and participated in discussions from the floor. The President even attended some of the Screening Committee sessions which took place in the evening during the first half of the plenum. There were nine of these Screening Committees charged with preparing resolutions for passage by the entire plenum during the last part of the meeting. Some of the Screening Committee meetings resulted in vigorous discussion and stiff criticism of present policies and administrations. Standing Committee member Kuo Chi told the reporting officer that a brisk argument had broken out over recommended retirement ages during one of the Screening Committee meetings that he had chaired. The Committee that handled judicial and police reforms had had several stormy meetings in which accusations were traded back and forth. Kuo said that Justice Minister Cheng Yen-fen, while explaining the need for more courts and more judges, had complained of lack



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of funds only to be interrupted by a representative from the Ministry of Finance who shouted, "You never asked for the money!"

Resolutions drawn up by the Screening Committees were discussed and passed in plenary session in rapid order during the last three days of the meeting. Some of the resolutions were verbatim renditions of reports given at the meeting such as Vice President C. K. Yen's political report and the provincial and National Budgets. Others, including the resolution setting up the Anti-Mao National Salvation Front, had been previously prepared at KMT Central Headquarters. Still other resolutions passed through the Screening Committees and plenary discussion virtually unchanged from the original agenda items. Texts of the majority of the resolutions are classified and not yet available.

The President's Role During the Plenum. President Chiang, as noted above, participated very actively in the proceedings of the plenum. He personally selected most of the agenda, attended most of the meetings including some of the evening sessions and frequently interrupted reports with critical comments. Hsu Shao-ming, a young aide to KMT Secretary General Ku Feng-hsiang, remarked to the reporting officer that the Gimo had acted like an old grandfather and had scolded the Central Committeemen as if they were children who had misbehaved. His stern lectures to the plenum admonishing the delegates reminded Hsu uncomfortably of a father berating a son who had done poorly in school. Hsu said that the President had repeatedly in his opening and closing speeches stressed the need for action and not words to fulfill the urgent requirement for rapid modernization. Chinese traditional tendencies towards inertia and evasion of responsibility must be eliminated, the President had said.

All sources contacted by the Embassy have emphasized that the President completely dominated the meeting and no one else had shared the limelight.

Standing Committee Selections. In recent years, Central Standing Committee members have been elected from a list of candidates nominated by the Director General. However, this year, since the Gimo did not want to prolong the meeting further, he named the Committee members directly. The President announced that since T'ang Ts'ung, Ambassador to South Korea, was not in the country, he had resigned his Standing Committee



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membership and would be replaced by Minister of Justice Cheng Yen-fen. The Director General read off the names of the other Standing Committee members and the Central Committee approved the list by acclamation.

Cheng Yen-fen had previously served on the Standing Committee for several years but was not re-elected at the last plenum. There had been considerable friction between the Justice Minister and the Legislative Yuan over the "Soybean Scandal" and his removal was widely construed last year as a gesture of appeasement to the legislators. This year, since Cheng was replaced as Minister of Justice immediately after the plenum, his renomination to the Standing Committee probably was the President's way of rewarding him for his zeal, intense loyalty and long reputation for incorruptibility while installing a more competent Minister of Justice. Cheng had suffered heavy criticism during the plenum for his handling of the Ministry.

Some observers here consider it curious that there were not more changes to the Standing Committee. Since former Vice President Chen Cheng's death, the Standing Committee has not been a source of major policy recommendations. The President's call for action, speed, reform, accepting responsibility, etc., would have seemed to dictate an overhaul of the membership of this key group.

Implementation of Central Committee's Resolutions. The Standing Committee will be responsible during the next three months for drawing up plans on how to implement the Plenum's forty-one resolutions. KMT First Section (Organization) Director Li Huan told the reporting officer that each Standing Committee member would take one or two resolutions and be responsible for organizing a study group to produce plans during the next three months for carrying out the resolutions within the following three years.

Implications of the Plenum. Although President Chiang brought up the subject of his eventual passage from the scene and berated the Central Committeemen because their lack of sense of responsibility was forcing an eighty year old man to make all major decisions himself, no real reference was made during the plenum to the problem of succession. The President's impatience for action and reform, however, might be viewed as a desire to prepare the best possible conditions for his inheritors.



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No one shared the limelight with the Gimo during the meeting. Defense Minister Chiang Ching-kuo was very much in the background and Vice President C. K. Yen's role was limited to delivering reports drafted by groups in Central KMT Headquarters.

The outlook for real reform in administration, economic policy making and education appears better than it has for the past several years. One week after the Plenum, President Chiang further demonstrated his desire for more rapid reform by replacing three Cabinet ministers and the Secretary General of the Executive Yuan. Justice Minister Cheng Yen-fen was replaced by Supreme Court President Cha Liang-chien. Former TaiPower President Sun Yun-hsuan took the place of Minister of Communications Shen Yi. The Chairman of the Board of the Bank of China, Yu Kuo-hwa, replaced Chen Ching-yu as Minister of Finance. JCRR Commissioner Chiang Yun-shih became Secretary General of the Executive Yuan replacing Hsieh Keng-min. The new appointees are all considered to be men of considerable ability and energy and are all younger than their predecessors. They should prove to be more dynamic than the former ministers and more interested in forward progress. Another sign of change since the plenum is the announcement by Premier Yen of coordinating meetings of the Political Vice Ministers from each ministry to be presided over by the new Executive Yuan Secretary General. This was a proposal which originated during the plenum from Minister without Portfolio Ti'en Chiung-chin's report on Korean and Japanese administrative practices. Premier Yen has referred repeatedly during the last few weeks to the plenum's decisions in appealing for various administrative reforms.

There appear to be few implications of a purely political nature in the plenum. The Central Committee spent little time on party affairs, no reference was made to the by-elections for national legislative bodies brought up at the last National Assembly meeting and, as noted, there was no direct mention of a solution to the succession problem.

No changes in mainland recovery policy were made during the



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plenum. Recovery was discussed in Vice President Yen's Political Report at the opening of the meeting, in General Kao Kuei-yuan's Military Report and in a resolution on the "Anti-Mao National Salvation Front" but the Gimo did not dwell on the subject and no new departures were noted.

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[ORIGIN]/ACTION

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

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A-320 NO. CONFIDENTIAL HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI DATE: November 15, 1967

SUBJECT : Fifth Plenary Session of the Ninth Kuomintang Central Committee

REF :

SUMMARY

KMT Director General Chiang Kai-shek opened the annual meeting of the party's Central Committee November 12. The meeting has been extended for several days longer than a usual session in order to consider an agenda which has been lengthened twice by the President. Agenda items are largely domestically oriented and the general theme of the meeting appears to be modernization of Taiwan. The Standing Committee of the Central Committee, to be elected at the end of the plenary session, will probably contain few new faces.

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Background. On November 12 President Chiang Kai-shek in his capacity as Director General of the Kuomintang opened the Fifth Plenum of the Ninth KMT Central Committee. According to Article 33 of the KMT Constitution, the Central Committee including alternate and consultative members meets yearly in a plenary session which has in recent years lasted from four to five days. During the annual meeting reports are delivered on both government and Party business, resolutions are adopted approving pre-determined policies and the Central Committees' Standing Committee members are elected.

The Central Committee members themselves are elected at the National Party Congresses held every four years. As the last Party congress, the Ninth, was held in November 1963, the Tenth would in principle have been convened this year. However,

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Congresses can be postponed at the discretion of the Central Committee and it does not appear now that there will be a Congress until perhaps late next year. One reason often advanced for the postponement, is the President's feeling that there are no suitable candidates for the position of Deputy Director General. Chen Cheng's death after the last Congress has left vacant for over two years the Deputy Director General's post. This position could be of pivotal importance during a period of succession.

This year's Central Committee Plenum will last from ten days to two weeks; considerably longer than the normal non-Presidental election year meeting. According to a CAS report (FCT-9716) and according to several Embassy contacts one reason for the extension of the meeting is that it will partially substitute, the President believes, for the Party Congress due this year. The Gimo has twice added items to the agenda in the last three weeks. Now it will cover some twenty-four topics ranging from Taipei traffic conditions to overall plans for the nine-year compulsory education program. The agenda is heavily weighted with practical economic and administrative problems; the general tone of the plenum will probably appear quite realistic and pragmatic. FCT-9718 notes that one agenda item will be a report on the economies of Korea and Japan and also that KMT Secretary General KU Feng-hsiang had said that the President was concerned that Korea's economic progress might be faster than Taiwan's. Central Committee First Section Director LI Huan made the same comment in a conversation with an Embassy officer November 6 and said that the theme of greater economic progress would be the keynote of the plenum.

Standing Committee Election. Li also remarked that he expected few changes in the Central Committee's Standing Committee to be elected at the end of the plenum. Standing Committeemen are chosen from a list of nominees selected by the Director General; two candidates are named for each seat on the Committee which may have from fifteen to twenty-one members. There are currently nineteen committeemen who meet twice a week, Wednesday morning with the President and Monday afternoon without, to conduct the KMT's regular business. Li's predecessor as chief of the First Section, Chang Pao-shu, Fifth Section Director Chan Ch'un-chien, Third Section Director Ma Shu-li, and former KMT Deputy Secretary General Kuo Chi have in recent talks all commented that they expect no great shifts in the Standing Committee this year. All noted that T'ang Tsung, Ambassador



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to Korea, is not in the country and would probably be replaced and that General Kao Kuei-yuan might take the Standing Committee seat of Admiral Ni Yue-si whom he replaced as Chief of the General Staff. According to other less inhibited observers former Taiwan Garrison Headquarters Commander General Ch'en Ta-ch'ing, Lien Ch'en-tung, Kuo Chi, Chang Tao-fan and Hu Chien-chung might lose their Standing Committee membership. However, none of the reasons advanced for the above being replaced appear very substantial and none of them have done anything to disgrace themselves during the last year. Ch'en's successor is not a Central Committee member and thus not eligible for the Standing Committee. Lien has been rumored for thelast couple of years as about to be taken off of the Standing Committee; however, there are no suitable Taiwanese on the Central Committee to take his place, (the present Minister of Interior is not a Central Committeeman) and it is unlikely that the number of Taiwanese in the Standing Committee would be reduced from two to one. Lien, Kuo Chi, Chang Tao-fan and Hu Chien-chung are all rumored not to be close to Chiang Ching-kuo; but this, up to now at any rate, would not warrant their removal from the Standing Committee.

No matter what changes occur in the Standing Committee neither the Ministry of Economic Affairs nor MOFA will be represented on that body because neither Li Kuo-ting nor Wei Tao-ming, or any of their subordinates, are Central Committee members. The Executive Yuan is now and will probably continue to be represented by Premier Yen, Deputy Premier Huang, and Defense Minister Chiang Ching-kuo.

Atmospherics. The first few days of the plenary session will be completely devoted to reports delivered by government and Party leaders. Discussion of the various agenda items follows and the plenum is broken down into various committees which draft appropriate resolutions and, usually, a long manifesto. The Committee then votes its approval of the resolutions and elects its Standing Committee.

In the past, policy has not been formulated at Central Committee meetings; rather, participants have been told what policy will be. Reports and speeches delivered before the plenum are largely pro forma affairs. For example, Vice President C. K. Yen's prime speech writer told Embassy officers to expect no surprises in Yen's main address to the Central Committee. King said that the Vice President's speech was drafted by a group in KMT



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Headquarters to suit the occasion. Close to five hundred top Party and Government figures will be fully occupied for several days in the Chung Shan Memorial Hall on Yangmingshan which is customarily buffeted by wind and rain at this time of year. There have been no signs of extensive preparation for the meeting. In the past the plenum has been more of an occasion for the upper layers of the faithful to congregate in congenial surroundings and be briefed on ongoing activities than an opportunity for any form of new departures or new policy courses.

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| ARMY 3 | CIA 20 | NAVY 5 |
| OSD 33 | USIA 10 | NSA 3 |
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

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A-153 NO.

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO: Amconsul HONG KONG
Amembassy TOKYO

RECEIVED
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ANALYSIS BRANCH

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

DATE: August 30, 1967

SUBJECT: GRC Experts Take Cautious View of Wuhan Incident and Other Recent Mainland Developments

REF :

Pol 12 Chinat

"Peking watchers" on Taiwan have focussed keenly on the Wuhan Incident and other recent urban unrest on the mainland, but none of the experts is predicting that these developments will lead quickly to the downfall of the Mao regime. Most do seem to believe that an irreversible deterioration has accelerated in the past two months, and express concern over possible Soviet and U.S. reactions as well as hope for GRC opportunities. The GRC views included here are those of the Defense Minister (as expressed in the attached paper he recently gave the Ambassador), General Wang Sheng (with whom the Embassy and ATG meet weekly), the Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations (an overt research organ of the Defense Ministry's National Security Bureau), and the Director of the KMT's Sixth Section (psychological warfare).

The Wuhan Incident naturally aroused much interest among GRC observers as the first instance of open PLA defiance of Peking's authority, although there was uncertainty and difference of opinion about the sequence of events (for one account see the attached paper). Most believed the PLA units' detention of Peking's troubleshooters was related to Liu Shao-ch'i's strength in the area, labor discontent in this major industrial center, and mounting civil disorder there over the past six months. They were uncertain about the extent of responsibility of Ch'en Tsai-tao, a former subordinate of Liu Po-ch'eng and an associate of Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien. Whatever the division of

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responsibility, though, the military's defiance was taken on Taiwan as clear evidence of spreading disaffection in the PLA, which together with economic factors are held to be the touchstones of Mao's fate. Mao's response indicated to most observers that he needs to avoid suppressing such challenges by military force, except as a last resort. Though GRC Peking watchers believe Mao continues to be dogmatically bent on pushing his Cultural Revolution through to the bitter end, they still credit him with great tactical skill. Thus they say that Mao, able to count with any confidence on only half the army, recognizes that the almost certain all-out civil war he would bring on by resorting to outright military suppression. On the other hand, they believe that other potentially dissident military leaders in Central China are not yet sufficiently confident of the outcome to throw their lot in with Ch'en Tsai-tao.

GRC analysts feel the disorders in Shanghai, Canton, Changking, Chengtu and other cities have been primarily a compound of confused infighting between and among supporters of Mao and Liu, accompanied by rising criminal exploitation of the chaos and uncertain PLA intervention in some places. An admitted lack of hard information on the situation in these cities has probably contributed to this cautious view.

Peking watchers on Taiwan remain confident that Mao's Cultural Revolution has greatly aggravated mainland China's economic problems. But, with little data to go on, they continue to be cautious about the actual rate of decline and predicting when decisive economic effects such as grave food shortages might make themselves felt on Mao's political position.

In spite of the marked deterioration of order on the mainland during the past month or two, GRC observers are not committing themselves to any early dates for Mao's fall. General Wang Sheng and his group, like the drafters of the attached paper and the Institute of International Relations, believe Mao still has considerable staying power and may last another year or more: while Mao is frustrated by disorder in his own ranks, his opposition is even more divided. The Wang Sheng group asserts, though, that Mao has passed the point where restoration of his effective control is possible, and believes his demise is inevitable.

As to what will follow Mao, the GRC prognostications become even more murky. They project only vague possibilities of power falling into the hands of 1) another Maoist leader other than Lin Piao, 2) a "non-Maoist" such as Liu Shao-ch'i or Chou En-lai, 3) or a congery of regional military satrapies. They see the GRC's



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opportunity for military or political action most clearly in the last contingency. In event of either of the last two, however, they are concerned over both the possibility of Soviet explitation and danger to GRC status which might flow from U.S. attempts to establish some sort of relationship with a successor regime.

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Developments in the Mainland Situation in Light of the Wuhan Crisis. (Translation of report given to Ambassador McConaughy by Defense Minister Chiang Ching-kuo.)

1. General description of the power struggles. On January 23 of this year Chinese Communist Armed Forces were ordered to participate in the power struggle after Mao-Lin's Cultural Revolution had suffered setbacks. Up to the present, Revolutionary Committees have been set up in four provinces and two cities, while Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Teams have been established in several other places. Military control is in effect in most districts. In some places the situation is still unclear. Mao and Lin know quite well that indefinitely prolonging the power struggle will further worsen the internal and external situation and would be the end for Mao and Lin. Hsieh Fu-chih and Wang Li were despatched to Wuhan to handle the situation there. Hsieh and Wang not only failed to accomplish their assigned mission, but instead touched off an acute armed struggle involving the military. The fact that high-ranking Communist officials sent by the Communist Party Central were even detained is enough to indicate how serious the situation has become.

Briefly stated, the characteristics of the Mao-Lin power struggle at various places since its inception are as follows:

A. Events of the past half year indicate that the power struggle has run into trouble in almost any place historically connected with Ho Lung and P'eng Te-hwai. Instances of armed struggle in which the armed forces have participated or which they have secretly supported have occurred in many places, such as Tsinghai (Chao Yung-fu's forces), Szechuan (Li Ching-ch'uan and Hwang Hsin-t'ing) and Honan (Chang Shu-chih). All this indicates that anti-Mao and anti-Lin sentiments exist in the minds of all military leaders who do not belong to Lin Piao's clique and that all the districts under their control are fraught with trouble.

B. High ranking Communist leaders in districts where the power struggle has not yet begun are maintaining an ambigious attitude as a means of self-preservation. They do, however, show resistance whenever the power of the Mao-Lin group reaches out to their particular districts. They are unwilling to follow the example of P'eng Te-hwai, Ho Lung, Lo Jui-ching, and others and leave their fate in the hands of the Mao-Lin group.



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C. In most of the districts where armed struggle has been intense workers and farmers have been involved. This has been particularly true where the fighting has started by workers fighting with Mao-Lin Red Guards and the fighting has then gradually spread and expanded. The armed struggle in Chengtu was a battle of the "Industry Corps", formed mainly by workers, against the Mao-Lin group. The Wuhan crisis was touched off by the "Million-man Corps" made up of workers and farmers. All this indicates that the workers and farmers in their hearts are basically against Mao, or that they rose against Mao on their own initiative because they sympathized with the present position of Liu Shao-ch'i. The Soviets have ridiculed what the Mao-Lin group is doing as a "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution without proletarians."

D. In the areas where the power struggle has been brought to a conclusion, "complacent", "self-appointed meritorious statesmen", "mutually recriminating" "staging civil strife" have begun to appear among the Mao-Lin group. This indicates that cadres of the Mao-Lin group are "indifferent" toward the "Cultural Revolution". To fight against the enemy is secondary; most important is "keeping one's territory". Because internal and external battles have become so confused, Mao and Lin's strength has decreased.

2. The Chronology of the Wuhan Crisis and its possible development:

A. Wuhan was the starting point for the overthrow of the Manchu Government and the creation of the Chinese Republic. After the Communists came to power and during the Hundred Flowers period in 1957, students in that district, uniting with the mass of workers and farmers, staged an anti-Communist movement which surprised the world. After the Communists' Cultural Revolution got underway in 1966, anti-Mao activity in this area appeared in August, first centered on Wuhan University. Since early this year the power struggle has been going on incessantly, and intensified after February. More than 300 units throughout Hupei Province have been labelled "Counter-revolutionary Organizations". More than 10,000 persons, called the "revolutionary crowd", were arrested. More than 300 were killed. Between February and June, more than 320 "struggle incidents" occurred in which more than 1,600 were killed and more than 17,000 wounded. More than 50,000 workers in the Wuhan area left their production posts to join the struggle. The majority of the factories and



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mines stopped work or were paralyzed. The Yangtze River Bridge at Wuhan was closed once and all communication with that region was paralyzed. After early July the strife became even more serious. On July 14 the Party Central sent Hsieh Fu-chih and Wang Li to deal with the situation. They were beaten and detained by local anti-Mao Communist troops. July 22 they were flown back to Peking under the escort of Fu Ch'uan, Communist Air Force Commander in the area. However, the disturbances there continued to worsen rather than moderating. July 21, a division (tentatively identified as the 123rd) of the Communist 41st Army, originally stationed in Ch'ao-shan (Swatow area) was transferred north to Kanchou, Kwangsi (its further move to the Wuhan area has not been confirmed). On July 25, strife continued in the Wuhan area, and Communist military forces there have passed such information as "watch what is happening", "if they open fire, we may have to open fire", "the whole 841st Division of Li Yao (phonetics) participates in the Garrison Mission", and "transfer a field army there". This indicates that the Communist troops in that region were also deploying in vigilance, and that the situation is very tense.

B. Wuhan is located at the center of the central-south region. It controls the land and waterways which lead out in every direction. It is the major Communist industrial complex in central-south China and a strategically vital point. The Party chief is Wang Jen-chung, and the administrative chief is Chang T'i-hsueh. Both are former subordinates of Li Hsien-nien and both have been in Hupei for better than ten years. T'ao Chu, First Secretary of the Central-South Bureau, worked in Hupei for quite some time during the Sino-Japanese War. Many of Liu Shao-ch'i's subordinates when he was the Secretary of the Party's Central Bureau are in Hupei now. This may have influenced Wang and Chang's anti-Maoist attitude to some extent. Hence, it is possible that Wang and Chang's rebellion against the Mao-Lin group may have been touched off by the Mao-Lin group's effort to purge Liu and T'ao. Ch'en Tsai-tao, commander of the Wuhan Military District is from the Red 4th Front Army. He had been commander of the 129th Brigade and was also commander of the 16th Army of the Liu Po-ch'eng's Second Field Army. He does not belong to the Lin clique. (There is information stating Ch'en has been a regiment commander of Lin's 115th Division, but this has not been confirmed.) However, when Ch'en was commander of the 358th Brigade of the 129th Division and the 2nd Column in Chin-Chi-Lu-Yu Military District, Hsieh Fu-chih was the political commissar of the same units. Thus they are not strangers. None of the eight deputy commanders in the Wuhan Military District belong to the



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Lin clique. Chang K'ai-chi, commander of the 1st Army stationed in the Honan district is a former subordinate of Ho Lung. Chang Hsien-yang, commander of the 15th Army (stationed in Hupei) is a former subordinate of Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien. Therefore, the basic situation in the Party, Government, and military in that region is anti-Maoist, and when these three link up, their strength will be great. Its further development is worth watching.

C. Hsieh and Wang's Wuhan trip indicates clearly that the attempt to solve the Wuhan crisis by political means has failed. In the last few days Communists in Peking have organized many rallies and parades at which slogans such as "Down with Wang Jen-chung", "Down with Ch'en Tsai-tao", "Swear to protect Mao and Lin to the end of our lives" were shouted. The purpose seemed to be to give psychological support to the Wuhan Maoists. Rallies and demonstrations also were launched in other military districts. There have been indications that armed forces will be moved in to settle it by force. However, looking at the Wuhan problem in the context of the mainland situation as a whole, civil war will certainly result if the Communists use military suppression. If civil war breaks out, all Communist troops which do not belong to the Mao-Lin clique will respond. Once the overall support of the armed forces is lost, the Mao regime will be thoroughly eliminated. Therefore, it is believed that Mao will not take such action unless he is left with no other choice. After Hsieh and Wang returned to Peking on July 22, three air transports made flights between Peking and Wuhan July 23. Since July 24, one flight daily has been maintained between the two cities. Commercial flights between them have been normal. (According to Communist wall posters, Lin Piao went to Wuhan July 23.) All this indicates that the Communists in Peking have been trying to apply various forms of pressure on Wuhan, trying to persuade those persons to change their attitude. The Wuhan disturbance is not an isolated incident. Once the measures taken by the Mao-Lin group fail to bear fruit, the anti-Mao movement in the Wuhan area will steadily increase and anti-Mao disturbances in the neighboring districts and other provinces will escalate. The renewed intensity of strife in Chengchow, Hsuchow, Chungking, Changsha, Canton, Nanning, etc. support this view.

3. A brief statement of the present internal situation of the Communist Armed Forces:

Since the Wuhan Incident erupted, Communist broadcasts have emphasized reports that commanders in various districts have sent their respects to Mao, and have paid their respects to



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Authority NND 969000
By NARA Date 9/16/03

Hsieh and Wang. The broadcasts have also boasted that all armed forces are "loyal" in safeguarding Mao's "revolutionary line". After Communist troops in Wuhan openly took anti-Mao actions, the Communists made a big noise, claiming that Mao is still loyally and faithfully supported by his armed forces. This clearly demonstrates that the reliability of the Communist armed forces, which the Mao-Lin clique considers as its "stone columns" and "mountainlike foundations", is shaking. Since Communist troops participated in the power struggle at various places last January, none of those which were not positive in their support of the leftists and which were openly or clandestinely supported anti-Maoists workers and farmers belongs to Lin Piao's clique. Most of them are in military districts such as Wuhan, Chengtu, Sinkiang, Tibet, Lanchow, Kunming, et cetera where troops belonging to Ho Lung's, Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien's, and Liu Po-ch'eng's organizations were located. Incidents have been rather rare in East China where troops belong to Ch'en Yi's New 4th Army were stationed. In the Mukden, Peking, Canton, and Tsinan Military Districts containing the 16 armies of the Lin Piao clique the troops were obviously more enthusiastic in their support of the leftists. When Mao and Lin engage in an all-out power struggle, their victory or failure will be decided by whether they can get the whole-hearted support of the armed forces. At present only half of the ground troops are positive in their support of the leftists, while many anti-Maoists have appeared in the Navy and Air Force. Recently, Lin Piao openly pointed out that counter-revolutionaries exist in the General Staff Department, the General Political Department, the General Services Department, and the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Although their number is not large, they do hold important positions. After the Wuhan Incident, there have been instances where "Down with Mao Tse-tung", and "Oppose Mao Tse-tung" have been shouted by the Communist MIG pilots flying Kinmen and Matsu. All this indicates that the anti-Maoists and anti-Communists in the Communist armed forces are coming into the open. This trend shows the Communist armed forces are beginning to split, and the Wuhan Incident certainly cannot be viewed as a single, local occurrence.

4. Conclusion and estimates.

A. Although the Mao-Lin power struggle has suffered many setbacks, it is unlikely they will waver in their determination to push it through. Their methods for settling incidents are basically two: political settlement and military suppression. The scheme they have adopted is isolating the problems at various places and settling them individually. They mobilize public



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information organs to condemn and attack the rebels on one hand while they negotiate on the other. To avoid aggravating the situation, it is unlikely they will try military suppression unless and until they are left with no other choice. Because of the inportance and far-reaching nature of Wuhan's location, the Mao-Lin group will be very prudent in dealing with the incident.

B. At present, the Wuhan Incident is like an injection of heart-stimulating medicine for the anti-Maoists. The Communist leaders know only too well that even though they surrender to Mao-Lin, they would be unable to avoid being purged. It would only be a question of time. Should the stalemate persist, the issue not be amenable to political settlement, and Mao-Lin be forced to adopt military suppression, it would be quite possible that civil war would break out and China again be governed by many local warlords. As a matter of fact, this kind of situation already exists; the difference is only one of degree.

C. The key in Mao-Lin's power struggle lies in the support of the armed forces and the success or failure of the economy. At present only half the troops belong to the Mao-Lin clique, and it is questionable whether all of these troops are absolutely loyal to Mao and Lin. At the same time, the internal conditions of the Communist troops are complicated and confused. It is particularly serious within the Navy and Air Force. As regards the economy, most important this year are agricultural and industrial products, particularly the former. In the industrial field, there unquestionably have been many instances of sabotage and strikes by workers. According to a Soviet report on Wuhan, more than 2,400 factories have stopped production. Industrial failure this year is certain and beyond remedy. In agriculture, Mao and Lin have long been aware of its importance. In addition to importing large quantities of chemical fertilizer from abroad, troops have been ordered to supervise production in the villages. However, agriculture cannot avoid being influenced by the "Cultural Revolution" and the "Power Struggle". It is still too early to estimate farm production for this year, but it will probably be lower than last year. All of these developments are definitely unfavorable to Mao and Lin.

D. Time is also a very important factor in deciding the fate of the Mao-Lin group. At present the anti-Maoist leaders lack external support and internal coordination. The mass of workers and farmers, without external stimulation, will hardly be able to develop a large-scale rebellion. Although they have



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anti-Maoist and anti-Communist determination, they lack sustaining power. How to support them timely and properly from without and how to rescue our enslaved people on the mainland is something about which we should do something actively.



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1967 AUG 8 PM 3 20

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# AIRGRAM

Pol 12 CHINAT

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HANDLING INDICATOR

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE AUG 8 11 10 AM 1967 RS/AH ANALYSIS BRANCH

TO : Department of State

INFO: Amembassy TOKYO
Amconsul HONG KONG

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

DATE: August 4, 1967

SUBJECT: New Taiwan Province KMT Executive Committee

REF : Taipei A-128, August 21, 1964

P.L. 12 CHINAT

The Seventh Taiwan Province KMT Conference met in Taichung from July 20 to 23. The Conference, which meets once every three years, elected a new nineteen-member Executive Committee and seven alternate members.

The New Executive Committee: The number of Taiwanese committeemen increased slightly. Taiwanese regular members increased from thirteen to fourteen (out of nineteen). Taiwanese alternates increased from five to seven, making all the alternate members Taiwanese. (Alternate members attend Committee meetings but do not vote.)

One of the new Taiwanese regular members, Hsieh Kuei, is a Paiwan, the first aborigine to serve on the provincial KMT Committee. Hsieh and all the other Taiwanese committeemen are obedient KMT members, and are not expected to make any dramatic changes in local Party policy. Their election, however, does indicate the KMT's continuing desire to bring more Taiwanese into local Party work.

Fourteen members of the Sixth Committee were not re-elected to the Seventh. Some were dropped because they have been transferred out of the Provincial Government or Provincial KMT. Some were dropped because they live in the newly created "Taipei Special Municipality" and no longer belong to the Taiwan Province KMT.

ENCLOSURES: 1. List of Members of Seventh Province KMT Executive Committee
2. List of Members of Sixth Committee Not Re-elected to Seventh Committee

Att

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Drafted by: POL:JAFowler:bp 8/3/67

Contents and Classification Approved by: DDean AWHummel

Clearances:

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HSUEH Jen-yang, Re-elected Chairman: At its first meeting the Executive Committee re-elected Hsueh Jen-yang chairman. It will be his third term as Provincial Party chief. Before the Conference it was rumored that he might be replaced, perhaps by a Chiang Ching-kuo nominee. Hsueh belongs to the faction of late Vice President Ch'en Ch'eng. Hsueh reportedly was also in disfavor with Central KMT Headquarters because he failed to prevent the Provincial Assembly "strike" last month. The Party apparently decided, however, not to replace Hsueh before the election of provincial assembly members, mayors and magistrates scheduled for next May.

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## LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE KMT TAIWAN PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE
Elected on July 22, 1967

| Name | Sex | Age | Birthplace | Education | Present Position |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] Jen-yang * 蔣人仰 | M | 57 | Fukien | Graduated from National Central University | Chairman of KMT Taiwan Provincial Committee |
| [illegible] Chin-cheng 林金生 | M | 51 | Taiwan | Graduated from Tokyo Imperial U., Japan | Secy-Gen., KMT Taiwan Provincial C'tee, Member, TPG Coun |
| [illegible] * 傅雲 | M | 60 | Chekiang | Graduated from National Chengchih U. | Director, TPG Social Affairs Dept. |
| [illegible] Hung-chao * 黃鴻昭 | M | 68 | Taiwan | Graduated from Taipei Medical College | National Assemblyman |
| [illegible] Wen-t'ang 羅文堂 | M | | Taiwan | Unknown | Superintendent, Po Ai Hospital, Lotung Chen, Ilan Hsien |
| [illegible] Chen-ch'iu * 潘振球 | M | 49 | Kiangsu | Graduated from National Normal College | Commissioner, TPG Education Dept. |
| [illegible] Yung-liang * 林永樑 | M | 51 | Taiwan | Graduated from Taipei Technical School | Commissioner, TPG Reconstruction Dept. |
| [illegible] Chien-ho * 李建和 | M | 56 | Taiwan | Graduated from Taipei High School | TPA Member |
| [illegible] Yü-li * 黃玉麗 | F | 46 | Taiwan | Graduated from Taipei 3rd Sr. Girls' School | Chairman, Taipei Provincial Women's Assn. |
| [illegible] Kuei 陳貴 | M | 36 | Taiwan | Graduated from Taiwan Normal School | TPA Member |
| [illegible] Ch'iao-jung 洪樵榕 | M | 48 | Taiwan | Graduated from Tokyo Normal College, Japan | Secy-Gen., TPA |
| [illegible] Hung-wen * 蔡鴻文 | M | 58 | Taiwan | Graduated from Chia-i Agricultural School | TPA Member |
| [illegible] Ch'ien 簡錢 | M | 50 | Taiwan | Graduated from National Peking U. & Graduate School, Kyushu Imperial U., Japan | Commissioner, TPG Civil Affairs Dept. |
| [illegible] Yen-ch'iu 謝延球 | M | 48 | Taiwan | Graduated from Kyoto U., Japan, & Pittsburgh U., USA | Director, TPG Public Health Admin. |

* Members of 6th KMT Taiwan Provincial Committee

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| Name | Sex | Age | Birth-place | Education | Present Position |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LIU Kuo-hsien * 劉國憲 | M | 61 | Hunan | Graduated from Central Military Academy | Director, TPG Fishery Bureau |
| YING Shih-wen 應世文 | M | 50 | Chekiang | Graduated from Futan U., Shanghai | Deputy Commissioner, TPG Finance Dept. |
| HSIEH Ch'ing-yun 謝清雲 | M | 52 | Taiwan | Graduated from Nagasaki U., Japan | TPA Member |
| TS'AI Chung-tung * 蔡鍾棟 | M | 65 | Taiwan | Graduated from 18th class, Revolutionary Pragmatism & Research Institute | TPA Member |
| HSU Chin-te * | M | 59 | Taiwan | Graduated from Taipei 2nd Normal School | Deputy Speaker, TPA |
| Alternate Members | | | | | |
| CHU Wan-ch'eng # 朱[illegible] | M | 65 | Taiwan | Graduated from Taipei Normal School | TPA Member |
| WU A-ming 吳[illegible]明 | M | 43 | Taiwan | Graduated from Neihu Primary School, Taipei Hsien | Member, Taipei Hsien Council |
| CHOU T'ien-ch'i # 周天[illegible] | M | 65 | Taiwan | Graduated from Kyoto U., Japan | Board Chairman, T'ien Ch'ing Chemical Works |
| LIN-TS'AI Su-mu 林蔡素[illegible] | F | 65 | Taiwan | Graduated from Taipei 3rd Sr. Girls' School | TPA Member |
| CHIEN Wen-fa # 簡文[illegible] | M | 60 | Taiwan | Graduated from Chiufen Primary School, Taipei Hsien | Chairman, Taiwan General Labor Union |
| TS'AI Wen-yü 蔡文玉 | M | 51 | Taiwan | Graduated from Kieo U., Japan | TPA Member & Chairman of Kaohsiung Fishermen' Assn |
| CH'EN Hao-t'u # 陳[illegible]土 | M | 60 | Taiwan | Graduated from Ilan High School | TPA Member |

* Members of 6th KMT Taiwan Provincial Committee

\# Alternate Members of 6th KMT Taiwan Provincial Committee

Taipei A-
Enclosure
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MEMBERS OF 6TH KMT TAIWAN PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE NOT RE-ELECTED TO 7TH PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE

| NAME | Birth Place | Probable Reason Not Re-elected to 7th Provincial Committee |
|---|---|---|
| HOU Ch'ang | Hunan | Transferred out of Taiwan Province KMT Headquarters |
| LIN Yung-liang | Taiwan | Reportedly will soon be transferred out of Provincial Government |
| CHOU Pai-lien | Taiwan | Taipei resident |
| CHANG Kuo-chiang | Hopei | Transferred out of Taiwan Provincial Government |
| KU Chen-fu | Taiwan | Taipei resident |
| CH'EN Hsi-ch'ing | Taiwan | Transferred to KMT Central Headquarters out of TPG |
| CH'EN Hsiang-ping | Fukien | Resigned as Secretary General of Taiwan Provincial Assembly |
| LAI Shun-sheng | Taiwan | Transferred to Central KMT Headquarters |
| Alternate Members | | |
| CHENG Sen-lan | Kiangsu | Taipei resident |
| MA Yu-yueh | Taiwan | Died June 1966 |
| LIU Chin-yueh | Taiwan | Has extensive other interests. Reportedly not interested in remaining on Committee. |
| CHANG Fang-hsien | Taiwan | Unknown |

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ORIGIN/ACTION

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

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A-776
NO.

CONFIDENTIAL
HANDLING INDICATOR

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 23 3 48 PM 1967
RS/AN
ANALYSIS BRANCH

TO : Department of State

INFO: Amcongen HONG KONG
Amembassy TOKYO

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

DATE: May 20, 1967

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation with Taipei City KMT Chairman LIANG Yung-chang

REF :

The enclosure to this airgram is a memorandum of a luncheon conversation with Taipei City KMT Chairman Liang Yung-chang. Liang said that some Party officials fear powerful groups of Taiwanese businessmen will use their wealth to dominate the local elections scheduled for next spring. According to Liang, some KMT officials also fear street corner speech rallies organized by the candidates will threaten public security and order. These KMT officials want to prohibit candidates from delivering any speeches outside of the government sponsored and supervised "political opinion expression meetings." Liang said that non-KMT Taipei Mayor Henry Kao, who organized some of the largest most obstreperous rallies in past elections, now plans to join the KMT.

HUMMEL

Enclosure:
Memorandum of Conversation-Confidential

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Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
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CONFIDENTIAL

Drafted by: POL:JAFowler:pnb 5/19/67

Contents and Classification Approved by: AWHummel/DDean

Clearances:

0484

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 969000
By NT NARA Date 9/10/03

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: LIANG Yung-chang, Taipei City KMT Chairman
Jerry A. Fowler, Second Secretary of Embassy

DATE & PLACE: May 11, 1967, Fowler Residence

Tighter Election Regulations. According to Liang, many KMT officials want to tighten the regulations which will govern the elections next year and prohibit candidates from organizing their own speaking rallies. They would only be permitted to speak at the carefully-supervised, government organized "political opinion expression meetings." They could not, as they have in past elections, organize their own street corner speaking engagements.

Candidates speaking on street corners draw large, unmanageable crowds, Liang explained. During the last election, for example, Henry Kao drew audiences of tens of thousands when he campaigned in the riverside districts of Taipei, Liang continued. At such a large rally, Liang said, fighting could easily break out between factions supporting rival candidates and would be impossible for the police to control.

It is also difficult for the police to prevent a candidate from attacking "national policy" at a large street corner rally, Liang said, without provoking an "unfortunate incident". If a candidate attacked military conscription before a large crowd, for example, Liang said, the police would not dare to stop him in the middle of his speech.

Candidates at street corner rallies frequently stir up the voters, Liang said, "threatening public peace and order." Passions were so high the night votes were counted in Taipei that many Party officials feared that, if Chou Pai-lien defeated Kao, the result would be a "bloody tragedy," Liang said. "The voters would have thought that we cheated them", Liang explained, "and Taiwanese Mainlander rioting could easily have resulted."

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Henry Kao May Join KMT. After Liang commented on Kao's election, Fowler asked him, "Is there any substance to the rumor that Kao will join the KMT?" "Yes," Liang replied, "Kao is negotiating with the Party." Liang said that he is not involved in these discussions; they are at a higher level in the KMT but that he knows about them. First Kao, hoping to gain face and prestige, asked the Party to have the President invite him to join, Liang said. The President of course refused, Liang continued, and now Kao has lowered his price; he hopes to stay on as Mayor as long as possible and then perhaps be appointed minister without portfolio.

The Party must carefully consider the consequences before admitting Kao, Liang said. Many Party members would react unfavorably. "Kao is no statesman," he stressed, he is an opportunist who is only out for himself. Kao attacked the KMT so strongly for so many years, he could not possibly turn into a believer overnight, Liang scoffed; if it suited his convenience later, he would quickly resign from the Party.

Businessmen and Elections. According to Liang, the KMT fears powerful groups of Taiwanese businessmen will use their wealth to dominate the local elections next spring. The businessmen plan to back candidates who, after election, would represent the businessmen's firms, not the candidates' constituents, Liang said. For example, Liang said, Wu Ho-shih, Chairman of the Board of the Greater Taipei Gas Company plans to back ten candidates for the city assembly.

Liang said that there are about five powerful Taiwanese business groups in Taipei. They include groups led by Huang Chao-chin, Lin Po-shu, and Wu San-lien. They are centered in Taipei, he said, and are particularly strong in north Taiwan, but their influence extends throughout the island.



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

27

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A-680 NO. CONFIDENTIAL HANDLING INDICATOR

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
APR 10 8 33 AM 1967
ANALYSIS BRANCH

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO : HONG KONG, TOKYO

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI DATE: April 7, 1967

SUBJECT : Henry Kao's Relative Predicts non-KMT Taipei Mayor will Join Party

REF :

During the past few weeks several Taiwanese have predicted to the reporting officer that non-KMT Taipei Mayor Henry KAO will join the KMT. During lunch at the China Hotel on March 28, Michael CHANG, a relative of Henry Kao said that the independent Taipei Mayor would join the KMT; not immediately, Chang said, but before the end of the year. Chang said that he heard this news from Mayor Kao's confidential secretary.

According to Chang, Kao will join because he is isolated, cut off from both his voters and from other non-KMT politicians and because he is being pressured by the government. According to Chang, Kao lost the respect of other independents when he accepted appointment as Mayor of Taipei Special Municipality. Now non-KMT politicians such as KUO Yu-hsin and HSU Shih-hsien all avoid Kao, Chang said. When Kao accepted the appointment, his prestige with the voters, which was based on his anti-KMT stance, also seriously declined, according to Chang. Now Kao has very little to lose by joining the Party, Chang concluded. According to Chang, TAO Hsi-sheng, YEN Chia-kan and CHANG Chun have all been pressing Kao to join.

Other Taiwanese, including Professor PENG Ming-min, also have said that independent Taiwanese broke with Kao when he accepted his appointment. Peng said that Kuo Yu-hsin and Hsu Shih-hsien, for example, expressed their disapproval by refusing to attend a dinner given by Kao. Peng said that Kao had been attacked in Taiwan independence movement journals in Japan. One young Taiwanese, the son of a former independent TPA member recently told Fowler that Kao "had begun to change" and that he no longer commanded the respect of anti-KMT Taiwanese. He also predicted Kao would join the KMT.

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

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Drafted by: POL/JFFowler:esr 4-5-67

Contents and Classification Approved by: DDean

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COMMENT: Obviously Kao's entry into the KMT would be a great propaganda victory for the Party. If he agreed to join, the KMT might reward him by retaining him as Mayor for a longer period or by preparing a more comfortable retirement for him when he is replaced. Kao's popular anti-KMT image is based largely on the speeches he made during his election campaigns. Unless he resigns and runs for some other office next spring, which seems highly unlikely, this image will slowly fade, and his position as leader of the Taiwanese opposition will gradually be undermined whether or not he joins the KMT.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

POL 12 CHINAT

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

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AIR RESEARCH

FROM : Amembassy Taipei

DATE: Feb. 8, 1967

SUBJECT : Deputy Chairman of Taipei KMT Comments on Party and on Taiwanese-Mainlander Relations

REF : A-609, January 11, 1964

The enclosure to this airgram is a memorandum of conversation between the reporting officer and Cheng Shui-chih, Deputy Chairman of the Taipei County KMT. Cheng, who is Taiwanese, said that the KMT created the post of deputy chairman of KMT city and county committees to train Taiwanese for Party work. However, Cheng said, most of the deputy chairmen eventually choose a career in politics rather than the Party. Cheng said that in time the problem of Mainlander-Taiwanese relations would be solved through inter-marriage and assimilation.

HUMMEL

Enclosure: Memorandum of Conversation with CHENG Shui-chih

1967 FEB 13 PM 3 11

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FORM DS-323

Drafted by: POL:JFowler:bp 2/7/67

Contents and Classification Approved by: D.Dean

Clearances:

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By NARA Date 9/10/03

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Taipei A- 549
Enclosure

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Cheng Shui-chih, Deputy Chairman Taipei County KMT
Jerry Fowler, Second Secretary of Embassy

DATE & PLACE: January 24, 1967, Embassy Car Touring Taipei County

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Mr. Cheng accompanied Fowler on a tour of the KMT's annual Chinese New Year's social service projects in Taipei County. While they drove from place to place they talked about local politics.

Biographic Information

Cheng was born in Taipei County and has never left Taiwan. Though he received most of his education under the Japanese, he speaks Mandarin so well that one would not guess that he is Taiwanese. He has belonged to the KMT since liberation. First he was elected Mayor of Shulin, a small town in Taipei County, and then to the County Council. He is now a member of the County Council and concurrently the Deputy Chairman of the Taipei County KMT.

KMT Deputy Chairman

According to Cheng the position of local deputy KMT chairman was created to train Taiwanese for Party work. Cheng said that if the local Party chairman is a Mainlander the deputy chairman is always a Taiwanese and vice versa. The chairman is elected by the local Party committee, Cheng said, but the deputy chairman is a Central Committee appointee. According to Cheng, if the deputy is a Taiwanese he does not receive any pay from the KMT. But because a Mainlander deputy chairman is usually a professional Party worker with no other means of support, he receives a salary, Cheng said.

The position of deputy chairman was created to train Taiwanese for Party work, Cheng said. But as it has turned out, most of the deputy chairmen are politicians whom the Party eventually nominates for some local office such as county magistrate. Cheng said that the Taipei County Magistrate is a former deputy chairman who became county magistrate. After their elected term expires these politicians probably won't go back into Party work, Cheng said. There are too few young people in the Party, Cheng said, expecially local (Taiwanese) young people.

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Taiwanese Mainlander Relations

It is only a matter of time before the problem of Taiwanese Mainlander relations is solved through inter-marriage and assimilation, Cheng said. Cheng said that there was a great deal of inter-marriage in Taipei County. Two of my sisters are married to Mainlanders, Cheng said.

COMMENT: Cheng is young vigorous and apparently loyal to the KMT. According to the Taipei County KMT Chairman, Cheng was handpicked for his Party position by Hsueh Jen-yang, Taiwan Province KMT Chairman. Nevertheless, Cheng seems to be interested in government rather than Party work. And the Party probably plans to nominate him for some elective office, possibly Taipei County Magistrate.

As Cheng points out, the position of deputy chairman has failed to train large numbers of Taiwanese Party workers. When the position was created in 1962, Party officials hoped many of the deputies would eventually become chairmen. In 1959 there was only one Taiwanese county or city chairman out of twenty one. In 1962 there were only three; today there are only two. There were three, but one recently resigned to run for county magistrate. Not only have the deputies failed to become chairmen but the Party has apparently found it difficult to fill the position of deputy. In 1964 there were eighteen deputies, but today, according to Hsueh Jen-yang, there are only nine, some of whom are probably Mainlanders.

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ORIGIN/ACTION

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# AIRGRAM

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TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO : HONG KONG, TOKYO

RECEIVED
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ANALYSIS BRANCH

January 16, 1967
DATE:

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

SUBJECT : Fourth Plenum of Ninth KMT Central Committee December 26-29, 1966

REF : (A) A-774, March 26, 1966; (B) T-1951, Dec. 30, 1966
(C) A-470, Jan. 13, 1967; (D) A-474, Jan.13, 1967
(E) A-476, Jan. 13, 1967


Summary

The 1966 Central Committee Plenum devoted most of its time to hearing reports on Government and Party activities. All were routinely accepted and the Party leadership at no time faced the possibility of its proposals or decisions being questioned by participants. The token Taiwanese representation was not influential. KMT Director General CHIANG Kai-shek was the only personality to play an individual role. Vice President YEN Chia-kan delivered a routine political speech and Minister of Defense CHIANG Ching-kuo did not distinguish himself in any way. The session served to point up once again the singular nature of Chiang Kai-shek's rule on Taiwan and the lack of preparation for the situation which will arise after the 79-year-old President passes from the scene. However, a gesture toward the future was made in the form of approval of a "National Security Council" to assist the aging leader. The meeting reflected little worry on the part of KMT stalwarts about the future, and satisfaction at the accomplishments of the GRC on Taiwan in contrast to the present confusion on the Mainland. All sessions were held behind closed doors with no visitors or press present.


ENCLOSURES: (1) (2)

1. Chronology of the 4th Plenary Meeting of the 9th KMT Central Committee
2. Membership of KMT Central Standing Committee
3. Central News Agency Coverage of Dec.26-29 KMT Central Committee Plenum

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Drafted by: POL:HLevin:djw 1/14/67

Contents and Classification Approved by: DDean

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Background, Participants, Location

The KMT Constitution (Article 33) provides for a Central Committee plenary session once a year with the Standing Committee empowered to call additional extraordinary sessions. For the reasons described in Ref. A, no plenum was held in 1965 with that year's session in effect having been delayed until March, 1966. Accordingly, this most recent December 26-29 session should be viewed as the regular 1966 convocation rather than as an additional meeting.

In addition to the 74 members of the Central Committee, (which includes the newly elected 19 man Standing Committee), also present were 34 Alternate members as well as its 120 Consultative members. There are four Taiwanese on the Central Committee (including two on the Standing Committee), five Taiwanese Alternates and three Taiwanese Consultative members, totalling 12 out of some 228 committee members of all categories. The majority of these 12 received their educations on the Mainland and are generally considered to be oriented to the needs of the mainlander-dominated regime rather than those of Taiwan itself. Others present included senior government and military figures who are KMT members as well as Party functionaries bringing total attendance to around 500. Taiwanese in this second group are believed to have been in smaller proportion than the 12 out of 228 Committee members.

This was the first major KMT function to take place in the recently-completed Chung Shan Lou on Yang Ming Shan in suburban Taipei. The Chinese-style structure, with its elaborate meeting halls, banquet rooms, etc., had originally been announced as costing US$2,000,000. Publicity about the structure has gradually deflated this figure until it is now given as US$1,000,000 in the press. In any event, these elaborate surroundings, which include suites of rooms where tired meeting-goers could cat-nap between sessions, undoubtedly contributed to the sense of satisfaction and well-being which seemingly pervaded the four-day convocation.

The Business of the Session: Reports, Proposals

As indicated in Enclosure 1, much of the time of the meeting was taken up with listening to reports by senior government and Party personages. Remarks made by listeners concerning these speeches, after the meetings, suggest that those sections of the texts released by the official Central News Agency (see Enclosure III) are accurate indicators of the unexceptional nature of their contents. In any event no revelations have been gleaned from them.

The four proposals approved by the Plenum put the Party's stamp of approval on what are in fact policies already adopted. This was perhaps less true for the one relating exclusively to Party operations -- calling for a "streamlining" of the KMT organization -- than for the other three; establishing a GRC/NSC, promoting the "Cultural Renaissance," and intensifying anti-Communist activities. These were all unspecific



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in nature. The only actual decision taken was the delegating to the Standing Committee of responsibility for planning the establishment of the NSC.

Elections to the Standing Committee

Details and atmospherics surrounding the elections to the Standing Committee were contained in Refs C., D, and E. Enclosure II contains a list of the present membership and pertinent information about them. Biographic information on the five new members of the Committee has been periodically forwarded to the Department in the past. Reports on their new roles as Standing Committee members will be submitted as it becomes available.

The elections did not meaningfully alter the composition of the Standing Committee. Taiwanese representation remains at a token level of two, both educated on the mainland. General CH'EN Ta-ch'ing in effect took over the seat of his predecessor in the job of Commander of the Taiwan Garrison Command, Governor HUANG Chieh;HUANG retained his membership. Admiral NI Yue-si assumed the place of his predecessor in the job of Chief of the Ministry of National Defense General Staff, General P'ENG Meng-ch'i, now Ambassador to Thailand. The return of HU Chien-chung (he was a member 1961-64) and the accession of KUO Chi and KUO Cheng places three old CHEN Cheng men on the Committee. They should not be considered as opponents to CHIANG Ching-kuo, since no KMT member in today's Taiwan evidences such opposition. Worth noting, however, is that they have been numbered among his non-supporters in the past.

Possible reasons for the dropping of Minister of Justice CHENG Yen-fen are suggested in Ref. D. The departure of former Foreign Minister SHEN Chang-huan from the Standing Committee - he is now Ambassador to the Vatican - leaves the Foreign Ministry without a voice in the Party's innermost council, a situation which it has faced before. Not much significance can be attributed to this. In addition to precedent and the fact that most other Ministries are not represented, there was no way to overcome the procedural obstacle posed by the absence of any Foreign Ministry officials on the Central Committee from which Standing Committee members were selected. Article 32 of the KMT Constitution provides that the Central Committee shall elect a Standing Committee "from among its own members", and no additions to the Central Committee can be made until the next Party Congress. (Vice Minister SHEN Ch'i is a member of the Central Consultative Committee.)

Comment:
The absence of any known debate at these sessions, the approval by acclamation of all leadership-endorsed proposals and the lack of meaningful criticism or suggestions from the floor indicate that this annual Central Committee Plenum merely served to ratify matters already approved by KMT Director General Chiang. The Party remains the core of the Mainlander regime, which along with the Government and military



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hierarchies is undiluted by effective Taiwanese participation. Its machinery is seldom used for consultation by Chiang Kai-shek which has been the cause of complaints amongst Party members for many years. However, the President does consult senior Party functionaries individually and some of them do on occasion influence the President's decisions.

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Enclosure 1
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Chronology of the 4th Plenary Meeting
of the 9th KMT Central Committee

Monday, December 26

Morning: Party Director General Chiang Kai-shek delivered the opening address and presided over the session. Vice President-Premier YEN Chia-kan delivered a political report on behalf of the Central Standing Committee. The meeting elected a 7-man presidium. Elected were: YEN Chia-kan, CHANG Tao-fan, KU Cheng-kang, CHOU Chih-jou, HUANG Chieh, HSIEH Tung-ming and TSAI Kung-nan.

Afternoon: The second meeting was presided over by CHANG Tao-fan. The Presidents of the five Yuan presented reports. Chief of the General Staff NI Yue-sue also delivered a report on the armed forces. An additional report was made by Minister of Foreign Affairs WEI Tao-ming. The meeting then discussed these reports and elected the Convenors of the various Committees which would screen proposals.

First Screening Committee on the Establishment of the Mobilization Organ: T'AO Hsi-sheng, HUANG Shao-ku, CHENG Yen-fen, KUO Ch'eng.

Second Screening Committee on the Proposal for Streamlining the Party Organization: YUAN Shou-ch'ien, NI Wen-ya, KUO Chi, HUANG Chi-lu, CHANG Pao-shu.

Third Screening Committee on the Proposal to Promote the Cultural Renaissance Movement: CHANG Chi-yun, HSIEH Tung-ming, CH'ING Shao-i, YEN Cheng-hsing, HSIEH Jan-chih.

Fourth Committee on the Proposal for Toppling the Peiping Regime by Accelerating Anti-Communist Action: KU Cheng-kang, T'ANG Tsung, CHOU Chih-jou, HUANG Chieh, CH'EN Chien-chung.

Tuesday, December 27

Morning: The third meeting was presided over by Vice President YEN Chia-kan. KMT Secretary-General KU Feng-hsiang delivered a report on Party administration. Chief of Second Section YEH Hsiang-chih delivered a report on operations behind the enemy lines and developments on the mainland. After discussion, the two reports were referred to the Screening Committee.

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Afternoon: The fourth meeting was presided over by TSAI Kung-nan. Chief of 6th Section CH'ENG Chien-chung delivered a report on Chicom affairs followed by discussion. Secretary-General KU Feng-hsiang introduced Red Guard Defector WANG Ch'ao-t'ien to the meeting and the latter delivered a report on the Red Guard Movement.

Wednesday, December 28

Morning: The 5th meeting was presided over by KU Cheng-kang. The meeting discussed the two proposals, one for streamlining the Party organization and the other for promoting the Cultural Renaissance.

The KMT Central Consultative Committee held its 3rd session simultaneously, presided over by Director-General CHIANG Kai-shek.

Afternoon: The meeting presided over by KU Cheng-kang continued to discuss and finally approved the two proposals.

Thursday, December 28

Morning: The Sixth meeting approved the proposal for establishing a mobilization and rebellion-suppression organ. The meeting also voted to adopt the reports made by the Presidents of the five Yuan.

Afternoon: The Seventh Meeting was presided over by HUANG Chieh. The meeting adopted the resolution on the political report delivered by YEN Chia-kan. The meeting then elected a 19-man Central Standing Committee from among the 34 candidates recommended by Director-General CHIANG Kai-shek.

The fourth plenary session of the KMT Central Committee came to an end.

## DOCUMENTS OF THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION

(None made public)

1. Vice President-Premier Yen Chia-kan's Political Report.
2. Reports by the Presidents of the Legislative, Control, Judicial, and Examination Yuans.
3. Report by Admiral Ni Yue-si on military matters.
4. Report by KMT Secretary-General KU Feng-hsiang.



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5. Report by KMT Second Section Chief YEH Hsiang-chih.
6. Report by KMT Sixth Section Chief CH'EN Chien-chung.
7. The text of the Central Committee Resolution on the Political Report.

PROPOSALS APPROVED BY THE SESSION

1. The Proposal for Establishing a Mobilization and Rebellion-Suppression Organ. The newly-elected Central Standing Committee was delegated the responsibility of mapping out a plan for its establishment within the shortest possible period.
2. The Proposal for Streamlining the KMT Party Organization.
3. The Proposal for Promoting the Cultural Renaisance Movement.
4. The Proposal for Expediting the Collapse of the Peiping Regime by Intensifying Anti-Communist Activities.

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Enclosure 2
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MEMBERSHIP OF KMT CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE

Members of the KMT Central Standing Committee elected December 29, 1966 at the KMT Central Committee Fourth Plenary Session are listed below. These nineteen individuals, two more than in the previous Standing Committee, represent fourteen holdovers and five new members. Three individuals were not re-nominated for re-election from the previous Standing Committee; Minister of Justice Cheng Yen-fen, Ambassador to the Vatican Shen Chang-huan, and Ambassador to Thailand P'eng Meng-ch'i.

| Age | Name | Vote | Province |
|---|---|---|---|
| 57 | CHIANG Ching-kuo (5592/4842/0948) | 70 | Chekiang |
| 64 | HUANG Chieh (7806/2638) | 69 | Hunan |
| 62 | YEN Chia-kan (0917/1367/3227) | 67 | Kiangsi |
| 65 | HUANG Shan-ku (7806/1421/6253) | 66 | Hunan |
| 66 | CHANG Chi-yun (1728/0366/2498) | 64 | Chekiang |
| 67 | CHOU Chih-jou (0719/5267/2677) | 61 | Chekiang |
| 64 | KU Cheng-kang (6253/2973/4874) | 60 | Kuichow |
| 70 | T'AO Hsi-Sheng (7118/1585/5110) | 60 | Hupei |
| 62 | YUAN Shou-ch'ien (5913/1343/6197) | 59 | Hunan |
| 61 | T'ANG Tsung (0781/4912) | 57 | Hunan |
| 62 | NI Wen-ya (0242/2429/0068) | 57 | Chekiang |
| 60 | HSIEH Tung-min (6200/2639/7036) | 54 | Taiwan |
| 74 | CHANG Tao-fan (1728/6670/5672) | 53 | Kuichow |
| 52 | * NI Yu-hsi (3680/3768/3886) | 50 | Szechuan |
| 64 | * HU Chien-chung (5170/0256/0022) | 45 | Chekiang |
| 61 | LIEN Chen-tung (6647/7201/2639) | 36 | Taiwan |
| 56 | * KUO Chi (6753/7335) | 35 | Chekiang |
| 62 | * CH'EN Ta-ch'ing (7115/1129/7871) | 26 | Kiangsi |
| 60 | * KUO Ch'eng (6753/3397) | 25 | Shansi |

* New Members

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DEPT KMT CENTRAL C'TEE TO HOLD PLENARY SESSION DEC. 26-29

Enclosure 3
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Taipei, Dec. 23 (CNA): The Ninth Central Committee of the Republic of China's ruling Kuomintang will hold its fourth plenary session on Yangmingshan, suburban Taipei, from Dec. 26 through 29.

The Central Advisory Committee of the party will also hold its third meeting at the same time.

President Chiang Kai-shek will preside over the joint opening ceremony of the two sessions on the morning of Dec. 26 in his capacity as director-general of the party.

Vice President-Premier C. K. Yen will make an administrative report to the Central Committee's plenary session in his capacity as a standing member of the committee.

Before plunging into discussion, members of the Central Committee will also hear a report on party affairs by Ku Feng-hsiang, secretary-general of the party, and reports on diplomatic and military affairs by officials of the party who hold key government posts.

In addition, they will be briefed on the lastest development of the situation on the Chinese mainland.

Important subjects to be discussed at the session include:

-- The establishment of a special organization in charge of national mobilization for the suppression of the Communist rebellion as was decided by the National Assembly in last March;

-- The reshuffle of the party's organization to meet the situation of the anti-Communist war.

-- The implementation of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement; and

-- The intensification of the anti-Communist revolutionary action to accelerate the downfall of the Peiping regime.

On the last day of the session, re-election of the members of the party's standing committee will be held.

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KMT CONGRESS TO HEAR REPORTS ON MAINLAND SITUATION

2

Taipei, Dec. 27 (CNA): The fourth plenary session of the Ninth Central Committee of the ruling Kuomintang, declared open on Yangmingshan in suburban Taipei at 9:30 a.m. yesterday, will devote its second day today to a penetrative appraisal of the current turbulent situation on the Chinese mainland in anticipation of the downfall of the Peiping regime.

This morning, Ku Feng-hsiang, secretary general of the Kuomintang Central Committee, will brief some 500 ranking party officials on the achievements made by the party in the past year.

After the briefing, Yeh Hsiang-chih, director of the second section of the Central Committee in charge of mainland operation will make a report on underground operations behind the enemy line.

In the afternoon, Chen Chien-chung, director of the sixth section of the Central Committee, will inform the conferees of the latest development of the power struggle within the Chinese Communist Party and the rampage of the "Red Guards."

Based on these information, the ruling party will work out at its current plenary session a series of plans for accelerating the downfall of the Peiping regime and fulfilling its mission of leading the nation to the recovery of the lost territories and building a new China.

Favorable Situation

Presiding over the opening ceremony of the session at the newly completed spetacular Chungshan Building on Yangminshan yesterday morning in his capacity as director-general of the party, President Chiang Kai-shek said a favorable situation has been created in the past 17 years for the mission of eliminating the Communists and national recovery.

He called on all members of the ruling party to unite together both spiritually and physically, to absorb new knowledges and to strengthen the organization of the party.

With new knowledges and new spirit, he said, "we will march toward a new direction to jointly fulfil the sacred mission of mainland recovery and national revival as well as to establish a new China on the mainland based on the Three Principles of the People."

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President Chiang expressed his fervent hope that all participating members of the meeting will review in detail the organization, system and work of the party during the session and make every necessary amendment and improvement.



## Seven-Member Presidium

The opening ceremony was followed by a preparatory meeting at 10:30 a.m. which elected a seven-member presidium and approved the agenda.

The presidium included Vice President-Premier C. K. Yen; Chang Tao-fang, former president of the Legislative Yuan; Ku Cheng-kang, president of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, China Chapter; Chou Chih-jou, former personal chief of staff to President Chiang; Governor of Taiwan Huang Chieh; Hsieh Tung-ming, speaker of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly; and Lamko Chua, chairman of the Overseas Chinese Banking Corporation and a leader of the Chinese community in the Philippines.

Then Vice President Yen made a political report to the first meeting of the plenary session on behalf of the Central Standing Committee of which he is a member.

## "Great Political Unity"

Yen said that the Peiping regime is confronted with serious crises both internally and externally.

However, he warned the free world against possible military adventure or nuclear blackmailing by the Chinese Communists who, he said, are desperately isolated not only from the free world and the neutralist bloc but also from the Communist community itself.

The Vice President cited the threat of the "Red Guards" to Macao as a case in point to show Peiping's export of violence to the free world.

Speaking of the direction of the efforts of the nation in eliminating the Communist threat to peace and freedom of mankind, he called for "great political unity" of the Chinese people at home, abroad and behind the Bamboo Curtain under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek to carry out the revolutionary mission of mainland recovery.

Yen also listed the following important tasks to be fulfilled by the party and the government in seeking the final victory over the Communists:

-- Immediate formation of the proposed special organization in charge of the national mobilization and suppression of the Communist rebellion.

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-- Concentrated efforts on the diplomatic front to refute the advocacies of appeasement toward the Peiping regime.



-- Continued military buildup for the counterattack against the Chinese mainland.

-- Accelerated economic development to boost the nation's defense strength and social prosperity.

In the second meeting yesterday afternoon, participants heard reports on diplomatic operations by Minister of Foreign Affairs Wei Tao-ming, and on military affairs by Admiral Ni Yue-si, chief of the general staff of the Ministry of National Defense.

Besides speaking on the nation's great victory in the United Nations this year and the prospects of regional cooperation in Asia in the future, Minister Wei highly praised Madame Chiang Kai-shek for contribution to the nation in promoting close Sino-American understanding during her one-year tour of the United States.

The plenary session, scheduled to last until Dec. 29, will plunge into business discussion tomorrow.



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## KMT CAUCUS HEARS REPORTS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS

5

Taipei, Dec. 27 (CNA): The Central Committee of the Kuomintang continued its fourth plenary session today to hear reports from its workers.

Ku Feng-hsiang, secretary general of the committee, said in his party work report that this country is stronger than ever before in all fields today and is well prepared for the mission of mainland recovery and national revival.

"If all the party members can take up their responsibilities, do their duties and march forward in disregard of any difficulty under the leadership of the Director-General," he said, "we can surely achieve glorious victory and complete success in our mission."

Then Yeh Hsiang-chi, chief of the Second Section of the committee, reported on "The Work Behind the Enemy Line Amidst the Present Turmoil on the Mainland."

He said that the work behind the enemy line will be more difficult and bear more significance in the forthcoming mission of mainland recovery.

He called on all members of the party to attach the same importance to this work as to the military field, and to give it necessary support and assistance.

In the afternoon, the plenary session heard a report on the current condition on the mainland by Chen Chien-chung, chief of the Sixth Section of the committee.

All the participants reviewed these reports and made suggestions during the meeting, which was presided over by one of its seven-member presidium, C.K. Yen.

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KMT CONGRESS SEES TIME OF COUNTERATTACK APPROACHING

6

Taipei, Dec. 28 (CNA): The fourth plenary session of the Central Committee of the ruling Kuomintang entered its third day today with full confidence that the time for an over-all counterattack against the Chinese mainland is quickly approaching.

Reports on the party's work and the mainland situation made at the third and the fourth meetings of the session yesterday all indicated that the year of 1967 will be a decisive period for winning the anti-Communist war through intensified political and military counteroffensive against the Peiping regime.

## Red Guard Now Anti-Mao Fighter

The appearance of a 19-year-old freedom-seeking cadre of the "Red Guards" at the meeting at 3:50 yesterday afternoon highlighted the occasion and increased the confidence of the ranking KMT members in fulfilling their mission to lead the nation back to the mainland.

Chi Shui-sheng, the young freedom seeker who later formally announced at a press conference to restore his original name Wang Chao-tien, told the meeting that he wants to become one of the vanguards on the anti-Communist front.

"A few days ago, I shouted the slogan 'support Mao Tse-tung' against my own volition. Today, I feel I am fortunate that I have become an anti-Communist pioneer under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek. To him and to the Chinese nation I will devote everything I have, even my own life," he said.

He urged President Chiang and the government to launch the counterattack at the earliest possible date.

"All the people on the mainland are anxiously expecting the government armed forces to deliver them from the Communist yoke," he said.

The ex-cadre of the "Red Guards" was accorded warmest welcome by those present at the meeting and his 40-minute report on his escape to freedom was interrupted again and again by thundering applauses.

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Earlier yesterday morning, Ku Feng-hsiang, secretary general of the KMT Central Committee, said in his party work report that this country is stronger than ever before in all fields today and is well prepared for the mission of mainland recovery and national revival.

"If all the party members can take up their responsibilities, do their duties and march forward in disregard of any difficulty under the leadership of the Director-General," he said, "we can surely achieve glorious victory and complete success in our mission."

Yeh Hsiang-chi, chief of the second section of the committee, reported on "The Work Behind the Enemy Line Amidst the Present Turmoil on the Mainland."

He said that the work behind the enemy line will be more difficult but bear more significance in the forthcoming mission of mainland recovery.

He called on all members of the party to attach the same importance to this work as to the military field, and to give it full support and assistance.

In the afternoon, the plenary session heard a report on the current condition on the mainland by Chen Chien-chung, chief of the sixth section of the committee.

All the participants reviewed these reports and made suggestions during the meeting, which was presided over by one of its seven-member presidium, C. K. Yen.

## Topics of Discussion

This morning, the plenary session will start screening proposals received before putting them for discussion.

Among the important draft resolutions which, once adopted, will give a new outlook to the current anti-Communist struggle are:

-- The establishment of a special organization in charge of national mobilization for the suppression of the Communist rebellion as was decided by the National Assembly in last March;

-- The reshuffle of the party's organization to meet the situation of the anti-Communist war.

-- The implementation of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement; and

-- The intensification of the anti-Communist revolutionary action to accelerate the downfall of the Peiping regime.

An re-election of the members of the Central Standing Committee of the party will be held before the plenary session comes to an end tomorrow afternoon.

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WANG PREDICTS "RED GUARDS" TO TOPPLE MAO REGIME

8

Taipei, Dec. 28 (CNA): The Mao Tse-tung clique will be eventually toppled by the "Red Guards" being used by Mao as tools in the "Cultural Revolution," Wang Chao-tien predicted yesterday.

The 19-year-old ex-cadre of the "Red Guards" who renounced Communism and came to Taiwan from Canton via Hongkong on Dec. 26 said at a press conference that he is confident that President Chiang Kai-shek will lead all free Chinese to recover the mainland. All the Chinese people on the mainland are fervently expecting President Chiang's return, he told the press conference.

A "Red Guard" leader before seeking freedom, he said the first thing he wants to do after being a free man is to correct his name. He used Chi Shui-sheng as his name on the mainland which was given by his step-father after his own father's death.

Mao Tse-tung is a "cunning fox" but is old and weak, Wang noted. "And Chu Teh's, physical condition is even worse."

People on the mainland have been suffering from prolonged famine since the Communists took over the mainland in 1949, Wang disclosed. Now many people live on sawdust as substitute for food, he added.

The "Red Guard" movement on the mainland is nothing to fear, according to Wang, "they are badly organized, and even fight among themselves from time to time."

Campaigns Directed at Liu

He said the main purpose of the "Cultural Revolution" and the "Red Guard" campaigns launched by Mao is to "get rid of Liu Shao-chi."

Mao used the teenagers instead of Communist cadres in the struggle against Liu because he could no longer trust the latter, the former leader of the "Cultural Revolution Team" of the Manchuli High School in northeast China, added.

He further noted that the current anti-Liu campaign by "Red Guards" in Peiping was carried out at a secret instruction from the "Cultural Revolution Team" of the central committee of the Chinese Communist party.

He also disclosed that many "Red Guards" in northeast China had tried in vain to escape to North Korea and Russia. The North Korean regime sent them back to the Chinese mainland while the Russians stationed large groups of troops along the border to block their entry, he noted.

The freedom seeker said that most of the "Red Guards" do not support Mao and are aware that someday they will fall victims to Mao's purge, he said.

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CHEN: "RED GUARDS" EXPOSE ALL PEIPING'S CONFLICTS

9

Taipei, Dec. 28 (CNA): The rampaging "cultural revolution" and the "Red Guard" movements on the Chinese mainland have exposed to the full extent all conflicts within the Peiping regime, said Chen Chien-chung, a section chief of the ruling Kuomintang in charge of mainland intelligence.

Reporting to the fourth plenary session of the party's Central Committee, Chen said that as a result the struggle between the Republic of China and the Chinese Communists has come to a new pivotal point.

He said that in the political field, the "cultural revolution" had nullified all Chinese Communist Party organizations and destroyed the "authority" of the Red party.

The "Red Guards" attacks on Communist party cadres at all levels have caused widespread strong resistance, thus sharpening the internal strife within the Red party, he said.

In the military field, Chen continued, the current turmoil on the mainland had seen the purge of such ranking officer as Lo Jui-ching, chief of the general staff; while the "Red Guards" now began to attack even Ho Lung, the chief of staff of the "Red Guards".

Chen foresaw continued development of this struggle within the Red armed forces.

In the economic field, the "Red Guards" have not only discouraged farmers and workers in their production but also directly ill-affected the production by blocking transportation, he said, adding that the persecution of the dependents of overseas Chinese also caused the reduction of overseas remittance to the mainland and undermined Peiping's finance.

In the cultural field, more than 200 leaders in the cultural and educational organizations have been purged, half a hundred of newspapers and magazines suspended, while experts and scholars are facing frequent insults and charges from the "Red Guards", thus forcing the intellectuals on the mainland to turn more determinedly against the Mao regime.

In the social field, the "Red Guards" rampage has exposed the false propaganda of the Communists to the mainland populace, touching off numerous anti-Communist uprisings. According to preliminary statistics, Chen said, bloody uprisings were reported in at least 19 provinces on the mainland as of mid December, while large scale fightings, participated by several hundreds or even tens of thousands of persons, were reported in a score of cities with hundreds of casualties.

Turning to the relations between Peiping and Moscow, Chen said a more serious conflict was in the brewing.

He also said that the Chinese Communists were trying to extend the "Red Guards" to other countries, singling out the recent Macao riots as an example.

He said the Peiping regime had set up an "international liaison department" in the "Red Guards" headquarters for [illegible]

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KMT ADOPTS RESOLUTION TO RESHAPE ORGANIZATION

10

Taipei, Dec. 29 (CNA): The fourth plenary session of the Ninth Central Committee of Kuomintang yesterday adopted two resolutions to give the ruling party new strength and energy in combatting Communism and safeguarding the cultural heritage of the Chinese nation.

One of the resolutions calls for reshaping the party's organization to meet the new situation resulting from the anti-Communist war, and the other, a concrete scheme for promotion of the Cultural Renaissance Movement initiated by President Chiang Kai-shek, director-general of the party, outlines the ways and means of reviving the Chinese culture which the Peiping regime threatens to destroy.

Both resolutions were passed yesterday afternoon at the fifth meeting of the plenary session, presided over by Ku Cheng-kang, president of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, China chapter.

They were screened by two ad hoc committees, one led by Yuan Shou-chien, former minister of communications, and the other by Chang Chi-yun, commandant of the National War College, before puting for discussion.

The plenary session will continue to hold its sixth and seventh meetings today to discuss other draft resolutions.

Some 500 members of the Central Committee attending the session will elect a new Central Standing Committee of the party this afternoon before the four-day convention comes to an end this afternoon.

Meeting of Advisory Committee

Earlier yesterday morning, the Central Advisory Committee of the party held its third meeting at the Chungshan Cultural Hall on Yangmingshan in suburban Taipei.

Presiding over the meeting, President Chiang first led the participants to observe a moment's silence in memory of three deceased members of the committee, Teng Chia-yen, Yu Fei-peng and Ma Yu-yueh.

The session then heard a report from the its secretariat on the implementation of resolutions adopted at the last plenary session in 1965.

At the 150-minute meeting, six members of the committee made proposals on foreign policy, overseas Chinese affairs, government administration, people-to-people relations, the Cultural Renaissance Movement and the anti-Communist uprisings by Tibetans.

At the suggestion of President Chiang, the session decided to refer the proposals to the Central Standing Committee of the party for study and implementation.

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Authority NND 969000
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## KMT CAUCUS ENDS AFTER DECIDING ON SPECIAL ORGAN

11

Taipei, Dec. 29 (CNA): The fourth plenary session of Kuomintang's Central Committee comes to an end late this afternoon in suburban Taipei after adopting important resolutions to lay a solid foundation for mainland recovery.

President Chiang Kai-shek is to officiate at the closing ceremony at 6 p.m. at the Chungshan Hall in Yangmingshan and deliver a speech in his capacity as director-general of the ruling party.

This morning, the committee members worked out ways and means of establishing a special organ on general mobilization for suppression of Communist rebellion.

It also adopted a resolution on the launching of anti-Communist revolutionary actions with a view to accelerating the downfall of the Communist regime.

### Unified Command

In the special organ resolution, the committee members agreed that the current mission of national reconstruction depends on unified command in both political and military matters.

"Concerted planning should be made and carried out simultaneously on political reform and military preparations, as well as moral and material mobilization," the resolution says.

"Therefore," it continued, "it is urgently needed to implement the National Assembly-adopted temporary provision for establishment of a special organ on general mobilization for suppression of the Communist rebellion."

### M'land Operation

The resolution on anti-Communist revolutionary actions states that the Peiping regime is on the brink of complete collapse while the international situation has turned fundamentally favorable to this nation.

"We should concentrate our efforts to step up operations on the Chinese mainland, expand the anti-Communist struggle in the international field and create an over-all new situation for our cause of anti-Communism.

"We should also step up our preparations in every field so as to accelerate military actions against the mainland."

This morning's meeting, presided over by Chou Chi-jou, heard reports from two screening sub-committees on the two resolutions. The members warmly discussed them and proposed literal changes while agreeing to the contents in principle.

(Cont'd on page 9A)

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KMT CAUCUS -- (Cont'd from page 9)

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In the afternoon, the plenary session continued discussing other resolutions and elected members of the standing committee. Details of the discussion and results of the election were not immediately available.

Opening at the Chungshan Hall Monday morning, the session heards reports on political situation of the nation, party affairs, mainland situation and operation behind the Bamboo Curtain.

It also adopted two other resolutions yesterday on the ways and means of carrying out the "cultural renaissance" movement and reshuffle of the party's organization to face the current situation.



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# KMT TO STEP UP ANTI-RED STRUGGLE IN 1967

Taipei, Dec. 30 (CNA): The fourth plenary session of the Ninth Central Committee and the third meeting of the Central Advisory Committee of Kuomintang were concluded yesterday afternoon with concrete decisions to step up the anti-Communist struggle and march toward the mainland in the new year of 1967.

Presiding over the closing ceremony held at the Chungshan Building on Yangmingshan in suburban Taipei at 6 p.m. yesterday in his capacity as director-general of the ruling party, President Chiang Kai-shek said:

"Subjective conditions and objective situation emerging in the past year since the third plenary session of our party indicated that the opportunity of launching the over-all counterattack against the mainland is ripening."

Reaffirming his confidence in the mission of mainland recovery and national reconstruction, the leader of the party which founded the Republic of China urged all its members to make the last-minute preparations for marching toward the mainland.

## Invulnerable, Unmatched Strength

Director-General Chiang said that leading the party to carry on the National Revolution in the past 40-odd years, "I have never entertained any doubt over our cause and now I am more confident than every before that Kuomintang will lead the Chinese nation to success and prosperity."

He stressed that whoever wants to eradicate the Chinese culture will be destroyed by the invulnerable and unmatched strength of the time-honored traditional virtues of the Chinese nation.

In a penetrative analysis of the purge and power struggle within the Chinese Communist Party, Director-General Chiang said that the "cultural revolution" and "Red Guard" movement launched by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao to get rid of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Teh-huai will sooner or later develop into a struggle between Mao, Lin and Mao's wife Chiang Ching.

"Only after our recovery of the mainland and suppression of the Communist rebellion, can the unending bloody purge on the mainland be put to an end," he said.

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## Epoch-Making Resolutions

In the four-day session which started on Dec. 26, four important resolutions were adopted. Once carried out, these resolutions will give a new outlook to the anti-Communist war as well as to the organization of the ruling party.

The most important one adopted at the sixth meeting of the session yesterday afternoon is the formation of an all-powerful organization in charge of national mobilization and suppression of Communist rebellion.

The three other resolutions are as follows:

-- Reshaping the party's organization to meet the new situation of the anti-Communist war;

-- The implementation of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement; and

-- The intensification of the anti-Communist revolutionary action to accelerate the downfall of the Peiping regime.

In order to carry out these resolutions, the following proposals were also adopted:

-- To step up the mobilization of the manpower and materials in the Chinese communities overseas to support the mission of mainland recovery.

-- To raise more funds for the implementation of the planned social welfare programs.

-- To improve the environments of primary schools and enrich their facilities to promote elementary education of the nation.

-- To increase contact with Chinese scholars and students pursuing advanced study in the United States, urging them to make more contributions to the national cause.

## New Standing Committee

AT the seventh meeting of the session yesterday afternoon, a new central standing committee of the party was elected.

Given hereunder is a namelist of the committee members with the number of the votes they got in brackets:

Chiang Ching-kuo, minister of national defense, (70);

Huang Chieh, governor of Taiwan province, (69);

C. K. Yen, Vice President-Premier, (67);

Huang Shao-ku, vice premier, (66);

Chang Chi-yun, commandant of the National War College, (64);

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Chow Chih-jou, former personal chief of staff to the President, (61);

Ku Cheng-kang, president of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, China Chapter, (60);

Tao Hsi-sheng, advisor to the President, (60);

Yuan Shou-chien, former minister of communications, (59);

Tang Tsung, advisor to the President, (57);

Nieh Wen-ya, vice president of the Legislative Yuan, (57);

Hsieh Tung-ming, speaker of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly, (54);

Chang Tao-fan, former president of the Legislative Yuan (53);

Ni Yue-si, chief of the general staff of the Ministry of National Defense, (50);

Hu Chien-chung, chairman of the Central Motion Picture Corporation, (45);

Lien Chen-tung, former minister of interior, (36);

Kuo Chi, deputy secretary-general of Kuomintang's Central Committee, (35);

Chen Ta-ching, commander-in-chief of the Taiwan Garrison Command, (26); and

Kuo Cheng, secretary general of the National Assembly, (25).

## High Respects for Mme. Chiang

Participants in the session yesterday paid their high respects to Madame Chiang Kai-shek for her tremedous contributions to the national cause during her one-year tour of the United States.

The session was presided over by Huang Chieh who made a report on the First Lady's meritorious service for this country during her tour of the United States where she made a good many public speeches which won strong support of the American people to the national cause of the Republic of China.

At the same time, the plenary session afternoon passed a proposal to express sympathy to the suffering people on the Chinese mainland, and pay high tribute to comrades working behind the enemy line, overseas Chinese the Chinese Armed Forces and police.

Yesterday evening, Director-General and Madame Chiang gave a dinner party at the Chungshan Building in honor of all the participants. The dinner was followed by Peking opera staged to entertain them.

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# AIRGRAM

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A-474 NO.

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JAN 16 11 35 AM 1967
RS/AN
ANALYSIS BRANCH

INFO: AmConGen HONG KONG
Amembassy TOKYO

S/AL 1

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

DATE: January 13, 1967

SUBJECT : Annual KMT Central Committee Plenum: Remarks of KUO Chi

REF :

Circumstances Around Kuo's Election to Standing Committee

The reporting officer called on KMT Deputy Secretary General Kuo Chi to discuss the December 26-29 KMT Central Committee Plenum, at which Kuo was elected to the powerful Standing Committee. Kuo agreed that in accord with custom his elevation required his being relieved of Party office responsibilities, but he did not know who President/Director General Chiang might name to replace him as KMT DepSecGen. He modestly attributed the President's nomination of him to serve on the Standing Committee to his uncomplaining attitude toward his responsibilities as SecGen of the Mainland Recovery Planning Board. He noted that the latter was a non prestigious aggregation and others assigned to work with it in the past had attempted to evade their appointments. He had served uncomplainingly and had endeavored to upgrade the MRPB's output in accord with President Chiang's wishes. His election had been quite unexpected. KMT SecGen KU Feng-hsiang had found him napping after lunch and wakened him to tell him to wash his face and come to the meeting for he had been nominated for the Standing Committee.

Cheng Yen-fen

The failure of President Chiang to re-nominate Minister of Justice Cheng Yen-fen to the Standing Committee was attributed by Kuo to Cheng's poor handling of the recent scandal

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Clearances:

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cases. Matters of procedure had leaked to the press from Procurators' Offices; Cheng had argued publicly with the Legislative Yuan; though a member of the Standing Committee, Cheng had not coordinated his Ministry's anti-corruption activities with the Party; and the status of the various cases and the individuals implicated in them remained confused and unclear to many. Kuo said President Chiang had not given any reason for dropping Cheng but he felt the foregoing may have played a part in the President's decision.

Mobilization Organ/National Security Council

Kuo said that the Mobilization Organ authorized the President by the National Assembly last spring was voted on approvingly by the 4th Plenum and would be formally announced within a few weeks. To be named "National Security Council", the organization would be primarily concerned with coordinating matters in the political, military, and security fields. The present Cabinet system was not suitable for carrying out this coordination, since many Ministers, who were not concerned with security matters, regularly attended its meetings. The new NSC would take over much of the ad hoc liasion which had been done through the Party Standing Committee. However, military matters were not ordinarily discussed by the Standing Committee but rather handled on an individual basis with the President. Kuo believed that the new NSC would lead to less work on government matters for the Standing Committee, and more effective handling of government business at the top, developments of which he approved.

Party Congress

The KMT Constitution provides for a Party congress every four years unless delayed by the Central Committee. A Congress was last held in November 1963 but Kuo saw no reason to assume that another would be held in November 1967. In his eyes, the present Central Committee provided a sufficient reservoir of manpower for significant Party assignments, including to the Standing Committee and therefore Party Congress elections to the Central Committee were not a matter of pressing necessity.

President Chiang Silent on the Military Counterattack

The reporting officer asked Kuo how he would characterize the atmosphere surrounding the four day Party Plenum. The 55 year old Chekiang fellow-provincial of the President said that the



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Party's attitude was manifestly practical and in tune with realities. He noted that recent Presidential messages had emphasized the GRC's historical, cultural and ethical responsibilities toward the Chinese people everywhere rather than possible military initiatives. Kuo said that he had a hand in the drafting of the President's New Year's Day message which had down-graded the subject of a military counterattack. The KMT was aware of domestic political realities within Taiwan as well as the international political atmosphere and was acting in accord with these facts. He said that the President was becoming "gentle" as he became older and this showed in his recent public statements.

Taiwanese on the Standing Committee

The reporting officer asked Kuo if he saw the likelihood of additional Taiwanese being named to the two already on the Standing Committee. Kuo said that no new ones were likely to come from the older generation but there was a group of somewhat younger Taiwanese politicians holding senior government and Party positions in the Counties and the Party Central Committee Sections who could be expected to move forward within the near future. Kuo offered the observation that these Taiwanese were too few in number, both because the Party had not sought sufficiently early to recruit Taiwanese and because the latter had displayed little interest in participating in KMT activities.

Significance of Standing Committee Vote

Kuo did not believe that the number of votes received by each member of the Standing Committee was significant. The five "new boys" got the smallest number of votes and Chiang Ching-kuo received the highest number. In response to a query, he said he saw less significance in Chiang Ching-kuo's 70 votes -- three more than Vice President Yen -- than the fact that the former had received four less than the highest possible total of 74. This suggested that three individuals were irreconcilably opposed to the Minister of National Defense, since it was assumed that he modestly did not vote for himself. Kuo left the reporting officer



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with the feeling that nearly everyone had voted for Chiang Ching-kuo not because of affection or respect but rather in recognition of the fact that he was certain to be re-elected anyway and that to give others a higher vote than Chiang would be to do them no favor.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JAN 16 11 35 AM 1967
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ANALYSIS BRANCH

TO : Department of State

INFO: Amembassy TOKYO
AmConGen HONG KONG

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

DATE: January 13, 1967

SUBJECT: Annual KMT Central Committee Plenum: Remarks of KU Cheng-kang

REF :

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Election of Standing Committee

The reporting officer called on APACL-ROC Chairman KU Cheng-kang to offer congratulations upon his re-election to the Central Standing Committee of the KMT. Ku gracefully acknowledged these, and noted that he was one of the few Standing Committee Members whose service extended back to the mainland. He said that past practices in nominating had been followed again this year; President/Director-General Chiang had approved the Screening Committee's nomination of twice as many names as there were places on the 17-man Committee. Just prior to the balloting he agreed to enlarge the Committee to 19 in response to Central Committee Members' criticism that "there is no one on the Standing Committee from North of the Yellow River." However, only one "Northerner" had been elected - KUO Cheng from Shansi. According to Ku, regional prejudices probably played a significant role in determining individual voting during the secret balloting for members. Each of the 74 Central Committee Members had 17 votes to cast among the 34 nominees. Totals for all nominees had been read out at the Central Committee Meeting but the names of those who failed of election to the Standing Committee were not released to avoid embarrassing them.

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Clearances:

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Mobilization Organ/National Security Council

Ku said that he welcomed the Central Committee's approval of the President's establishment of the National Security Council authorized by the National Assembly last spring. He thought that this new body would provide the President with improved machinery for obtaining good advice from throughout the government. At present too much was done on an ad hoc basis, with important matters sometimes uncoordinated and poor suggestions pressed on the President. The new National Security Council would be small, compact, workmanlike and would confine itself to substantial matters of national importance which now sometimes failed to be carried out because there were too many conflicting interests.

The 65 year old native of Kweichou Province said that he expected one of the first actions of the new NSC would be to transfer the Ministry of Personnel from the Examination Yuan to the Executive Yuan. The work of modernizing the government structure and bureaucracy to meet the needs of the times would actually be carried out by the Executive Yuan though the policies would be determined by the NSC. Ku said that this would be done in accord with the "spirit" of the GRC Constitution though he agreed it was an apparent departure from the letter of that document. (Articles 83-89)

Taiwanese: Elections

The reporting officer recalled that at the National Assembly session in the spring of 1966 Ku had expressed the belief that the elections for the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly authorized by the latter body at that time might take place in 1966. Ku said that the delay had been caused by the necessity of first establishing the NSC, which had been the first part of the National Assembly's resolution, and now work would go forward to hold the elections in 1967.

Ku recognized that these elections would be of interest to the Taiwanese but he did not expect to see any substantially increased Taiwanese role in the central government or KMT in the near future. Ku said that every member of the Standing Committee of the Party had been a KMT member prior to the Second World War, including the two Taiwanese. While he had never sat down to figure



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it out he would not be surprised if most Standing Committee members had been KMT members for over forty years. When the Taiwanese had been members for that length of time they could expect to be considered for positions of comparable importance. The reporting officer observed that this put off substantial Taiwanese participation in the government for at least thirty years, to which Ku replied with a smile, "It could come that fast - if we are still here."

View of President Chiang; Recent Public Statements

The reporting officer asked Ku to characterize the President's role at the Central Committee Plenum and on other recent occasions. He replied that the President was concentrating his attention on practical, reasonable things. His point of view comes through to Party members, said Ku, and all understand what he considers to be important. In response to the observation that the impression gained from reading the President's New Year's Day Address this year was different from that received in past years, Ku agreed, and responded along the following lines: "It is embarrassing (pu hau yi sze) for the President to refer to a military counterattack year after year when it can only be discussed realistically by acknowledging our dependence on the U.S. and it is clear that you will not aid us. The President is therefore focussing on that which is possible for us to undertake independently - we are accentuating cultural, historical and ethical activities. But our goals remain the same, we can never give them up, we can never abandon our responsibilities toward our fellow-countrymen on the mainland."

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HANDLING INDICATOR

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JAN 13 8 22 AM 1967
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TO : Department of State

FROM : Amembassy TAIPEI

DATE: January 11, 1967

SUBJECT : LIN Fu-shun, One of CCK's Young Taiwanese

REF :

SUMMARY

LIN Fu-shun is a Taiwanese farm boy who studied in the United States for ten years on Chinese government scholarships. After ten years in America he is now finding it difficult to adjust to life in Taipei. His experiences show why many students are reluctant to return from the United States. According to Lin, he only returned because his good government connections and friendship with Defense Minister Chiang Ching-kuo (CCK) will enable him to succeed on Taiwan. He is working in the Youth Corps, helping CCK meet young professors. Although Lin wants to continue his teaching career at Taiwan University, he expects to be asked to take a job in the Party or Government. He is a good example of the kind of young Taiwanese CCK is attempting to recruit. These Taiwanese want to use their Mainlander connections to get ahead in private life, but don't want to work for the Government or Party.

BIOGRAPHY

Assistant Professor Lin Fu-shun was a poor boy from a muddy village in Nantou County near Puli who made good on government scholarships. According to Lin, he is only the second man from his village to graduate from college and the only one ever to study in the United States. After he was graduated from National Taiwan University, he worked for two years as a judge and for one year in the Foreign Ministry. He went to

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the United States in 1956 on a government scholarship and attended Georgetown University, the Harvard Law School, and Columbia University. He published one book in the U.S., a bibliography of Communist Chinese Law. He recently returned to Taiwan after ten years in America and presently is teaching international law at Taiwan University and working in the Youth Corps.

Problems of a Returnee. Lin finds it difficult to adjust to life on Taiwan after ten years in America. He seems to be suffering from culture shock. "Of course many things on Taiwan have changed in ten years," he said, "but many things are still the same. Taipei is still very dirty," he complained. "Public sanitation is still very poor. The people in my village are only slightly better off than when I left here," he added. When he finished complaining about the filth of Taipei, he started complaining about the lack of good western restaurants. "You can't get any decent western food in Taipei," he said, as he wolfed down an oyster cocktail, rare steak, and apple pie a la mode. "You can't even buy a good cup of coffee," he complained. "We take restaurants like this Officers' Club for granted when we are in the U.S.," he said, "but when we return to Taiwan..."

Professor Lin has only discovered one amusement on Taiwan that the United States lacks, the wine house with hostesses. He has been trying to impress his old school friends by entertaining them at lavish parties, a common form of conspicuous consumption on Taiwan. Unfortunately, the mere fact that Lin returned from the U.S. undermines the image of success that he is trying to create. Taiwanese often consider the student who returns from the United States a failure who could not make the grade in America. "My friends frequently ask me why I came back," Lin said. "What is the matter, they ask, did you suffer some setback in America?"

As a result, many Taiwanese don't want to return, he said, "but I am different. I have very good connections in the government and can do very well here." Lin boasted that he had met the President, Vice President, Foreign Minister, and Deputy Foreign Minister, and capped it by saying, "I am a good friend of Defense Minister Chiang Ching-kuo."



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